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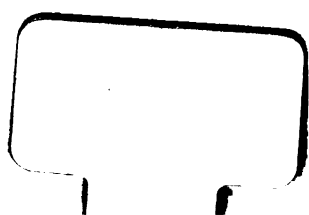
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THE BUDGET

AS IT IS,

AND

AS IT MIGHT BE.

BY

JOSEPH SAMUDA.



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ERRATA.

Page 9, line 11—for *dispenses* read *excuses*.

Page 38, line 37—for 600 read 640.

Page 39, line 16—for 9.102, read 91.02.

Page 47, line 2 from the table—for *fifteen*, read *fourteen*.

Page 61, line 14—for *cost* read *costs*.

THE BUDGET AS IT IS,

AND

AS IT MIGHT BE.

THE necessity of a radical reform in our financial economy, and of a sweeping reduction in the public expenditure, is becoming every day more and more apparent.

The adherents of the old system may affect to jeer at those innovators who, like Mr. Cobden, advocate a wholesale cutting down of the public establishments, but the attempt to stem the torrent is vain. Each day brings new converts to the doctrines of these apostles of retrenchment, and each discussion tends to give strength to their opinions; unity and organization to their proceedings.

Time was when the partisans of free trade were sneered at in the same way, and it was said, "How can we do away with protecting duties when other nations maintain them?" But the conviction got abroad that this reciprocity of injury was needless and impolitic; and men of eminence at last dared to say, that if other nations chose to adopt a suicidal course, it was no reason why we should do the same.

The same conviction is making its way with respect to warlike establishments; and though the day may not yet have arrived for giving it the same practical application that it has received with respect to commercial regulations, yet it must be evident to all who watch the signs of the times that the moment is fast approaching when this opinion will become general, and will be acted upon by the ruling powers of the nation,—and let that once be done, we would venture to prophesy that the alarmists of the present day, who are ready to predict the ruin of the country if a single man were taken from the military or naval forces, would accommodate themselves to an extensive reduction of those establishments as speedily as did the protectionists, till roused anew by the late agitation, to the repeal of the corn laws, from which they too foretold ruin as certain and as imminent.

What would be thought of a private individual who was exceeding his income every year, and conceived he was making a very great concession by saying to those who upbraided him with his prodigality—"I will put my carriage and four on a more economical footing. I will give my

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horses less corn, and I will have but one footman behind instead of two, but the carriage itself I cannot think of putting down?"

Now the English ministry and its adherents have, to the present day, been arguing like such an individual. They say, 'We are quite ready, if possible, to repair all our ships in two dockyards instead of three; we will give the naval officers a fillip in order that they may be more active. We will reduce some salaries and unite some offices under the same person; but, for heaven's sake! don't ask us to impair the efficiency of the public establishments as they now stand.'

It is true Government has reduced the naval and military forces this last year, but they have done so because they were *compelled* to that step from the actual deficiency of the revenue, and the refusal of the House of Commons to listen to an increase of the income-tax. This very exception, under the particular circumstances in which it occurred, strengthens the argument that ministers are always doing the same thing as the prodigal individual in the case we have been supposing.

Now, we partisans of economy say to the private individual,—“You must not be content with keeping your carriage at a less cost, but you must put it down altogether:” and we say to Government, “You must not stop at little savings in the keeping up of the present army and navy, but you must make wholesale reductions in the *number* of men, till you arrive at a figure of expenditure consistent with the state of the public income and the national burdens.”

“But,” say the acolytes of the *statu quo* party, “We must maintain the army and navy at their present force, or we shall not be in a condition to attack an enemy, or even to resist him if we are invaded.”

Now, granted for a moment that it is fair and honourable in a nation to do that which would be reprehensible in a private individual; granted that you have a right to push taxation to its utmost limits, to resort from time to time to loans, and to eat up the capital of the country by degrees in unproductive occupations.

Granted all this, and yet it cannot be denied that you are incurring a *certain* and *continual* inconvenience for the sake of warding off an *uncertain* and entirely *prospective* evil.

We Englishmen blame the continental nations of Europe, and very justly too, for their system of passports; and we say, that even if it be admitted that a few evil-doers are secured, through its agency, who would otherwise escape, the *uncertain* advantage accruing from this, cannot be set in the balance against the *certain* disadvantage of a restriction which weighs heavily upon a majority of the population. In other words, that the sum of evil entailed by the measure is much greater than the sum of evil prevented.

In order to see how far this argument may be applied to the case under discussion, let us endeavour to appreciate the evils occasioned, and the probable evils warded off by the present system of expenditure.

There are on the Continent a number of secondary states who have not, like us, a sea frontier and a navy to protect them, nor an army of nearly a hundred thousand men, and who are lying almost defenceless in the immediate neighbourhood of powerful nations. Yet we do not find that a single second, or third-rate state, has been invaded for the

purposes of conquest since the year 1815. Belgium and Holland have existed undisturbed by the side of France and Prussia; Switzerland between France and Austria; and even the Italian States have been free from any attacks, but those made in behoof of the authorities themselves of those States.

If the more powerful continental nations have abstained from all inroads upon their feeble neighbours, which appear such an easy prey, how much less would they be disposed to try the hazardous adventure of invading a country unapproachable but by water, and containing a population of seven-and-twenty millions?

Here, then, is the *contingent* evil to be warded off, At present let us examine the *certain* evil entailed.

Since the peace of 1815 we have spent in the national defences alone—

Years.	Navy.	Army.	Ordnance.	Totals.
	£	£	£	£
1817	6,473,063	9,718,066	1,417,648	17,608,777
1818	6,521,714	7,785,979	1,247,197	15,554,890
1819	6,395,553	8,998,037	1,243,639	16,637,229
1820	6,387,799	8,944,814	1,092,292	16,424,905
1821	6,107,280	9,138,845	1,183,727	16,429,852
1822	5,042,642	7,698,974	1,007,821	13,749,437
1823	5,613,151	7,351,992	1,364,328	14,329,471
1824	6,161,818	7,573,026	1,407,308	15,142,152
1825	5,849,119	7,579,631	1,567,087	14,995,837
1826	6,540,634	8,297,361	1,869,606	16,707,601
1827	6,444,727	7,876,682	1,914,403	16,235,812
1828	5,667,970	8,084,043	1,446,972	15,198,985
1829	5,902,339	7,709,372	1,569,150	15,180,861
1830	5,309,606	6,991,163	1,613,908	13,914,677
1831	5,689,859	7,216,293	1,472,944	14,379,096
1832	4,882,835	7,129,874	1,792,317	13,805,026
1833	4,360,235	6,590,062	1,314,806	12,265,103
1834	4,603,909	6,493,925	1,068,223	12,066,057
1835	4,099,430	6,406,143	1,151,914	11,657,487
1836	4,205,726	6,473,183	1,434,059	12,112,968
1837	4,750,658	6,521,716	1,444,523	12,716,897
1838	4,520,428	6,815,641	1,384,681	12,720,750
1839	5,490,204	6,542,662	1,951,210	13,984,076
1840	5,597,511	6,890,267	1,631,640	14,119,418
1841	6,489,074	6,418,422	1,815,132	14,722,628
1842	6,640,163	5,987,921	2,174,673	14,802,757
1843	6,606,057	5,997,156	1,910,704	14,513,917
1844	5,858,219	6,178,714	1,924,311	13,961,244
1845	6,809,872	6,744,589	2,109,707	15,664,168
1846	7,803,464	6,699,699	2,361,534	16,864,697
1847	7,747,156	6,913,816	2,679,124	17,340,096
1848	7,764,020	7,037,795	2,801,760	17,603,575
£	188,236,235	232,805,863	52,368,948	473,410,446

In 1792 the expenditure was, for the Navy, £2,749,698; Army, £2,511,609; Ordnance, £458,520; total, £5,719,827.

Now admitting, for argument's sake, the very questionable hypothesis that the conquest of the Cape of Good Hope, of the Ionian Islands, and other possessions—that the settlement at New Zealand, and the various Colonies established since 1792, were politic and judicious, we will allow a million and a half excess over that year's expenditure on account of the new acquisitions, and of the pensions and half-pay that the increase of the forces during the war had entailed, which would make a total of £7,219,827; and this sum multiplied by 32, the number of years from 1817 to 1849, makes £231,034,464, being £242,375,982 less than the actual amount expended during those years.

Again, the average annual expenditure of the 32 years for these three branches of the public service was £14,794,076. Now, if £7,219,827 only had been spent, there would have been a yearly saving of £7,574,249, which being applied to the reduction of the national debt, supposing the accumulation to have taken place at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, would have redeemed upwards of £450,000,000 sterling, or £500,000,000 of 3 per cent. stock even if purchased at 90, and less than ten years would have sufficed to pay off the remainder.

The evil entailed is, then, the entire loss of more than four hundred millions; the evil to be avoided, the most improbable, and next to impossible chance of a hostile incursion.

When Louis the XIV. had bombarded Algiers, it is said the Dey enquired how much the expedition had cost, and on hearing the amount, exclaimed, "Why, for half the money I would have bombarded the town myself!" Might we not say in the same strain, "For half the money the national defences have cost since the peace we would have burnt Woolwich and Sheerness, nay given up London itself to pillage, so far as the cost of reinstating the property destroyed is concerned." The money that might have been saved, would, as shown above, have paid off the greatest part of the national debt, and England would be now, or at all events, in a few years time, the least taxed country in Europe.

But what if the means are after all inadequate, nay, contrary to the end in view; what if the sacrifice be worse than gratuitous, and if it increase the danger instead of guarding against it?

However paradoxical the proposition may appear, that an increase in the numerical force of the army and navy renders the nation less fit for war, it is nevertheless borne out by logical deductions and by past experience. Let us take for example the year 1792, which has been proposed above as a model worthy of imitation, and then consider the years 1793 and 1794, which followed. Those who are as fully convinced as ourselves that the country, despite its immensely augmented population, would be now unable to enter into such a gigantic contest, and send forth, on so short a notice, such enormous armaments as it did in those years, will find that the proposition is not so irrational as it might at the first blush appear, and will, perhaps, be disposed to listen to the arguments that may be adduced in its favour.

It is not going to be denied that if the warlike establishments of the country were upon the *war footing*, their increased force would bring with it increased security; neither is it to be denied that, *ceteris paribus*, it is better, with a view to defence or aggression, to have a hundred thousand

soldiers than to have ten. But neither of these conditions exist—neither the *war footing*, nor the *ceteris paribus*.

Every one who has studied the military part of historical events is aware that the largest peace establishment does not, and cannot preclude the necessity for heavy expenses on the breaking out of a war. If even the forces are not to be increased, there are transports to be effected, camps to be established, extra wear and tear of stores of all sorts, augmented consumption of ammunition, and a thousand other incidental causes of expense. The question then becomes inevitably a financial one, and that country is in the best condition to go to war whose money resources are the greatest. With a full exchequer everything may be procured, and above all, men; with an empty one there are neither men, nor stores, nor ships to be had, and the means already in hand become unavailable from the want of resources to call them into action, and to give them the requisite extension.

The history of the last sixty years furnishes us with abundant proofs of this fact.

The first and most striking instance is that of the years 1792 and 1793, above quoted. On the 1st January, 1793, we had 18,739 seamen and marines; and on the 31st December, of the same year, 76,565!*

Now, though the possibility of raising a loan, even at the present moment, for a *temporary* purpose is not to be doubted; yet it is very much to be doubted whether, for any purpose, but that of repelling an invasion, it would be possible between this and twelve months, either by loans or by taxes, to raise sufficient to bring our naval force to the same pitch, *with the prospect* such as existed in 1793, *of having to make similar sacrifices during an indeterminate series of years*.

If our ancestors had been as improvident as ourselves, and had kept up a force of forty thousand seamen, and a hundred thousand soldiers, from the close of the American war, till the year 1792, instead of husbanding their resources, they too would have been unable to go to war.

The next instance that occurs is in the period from 1839 to 1840. We were then, through the *improvidence*, as it is called by some of Sir Robert Peel's government, in a tolerably fair financial position; and from that circumstance we were enabled to bring such forces as we had into vigorous action. The French government, on the other hand, had been squandering the public money with the utmost profusion; and the consequence was, that in spite of the material means already prepared, and of the warlike disposition evinced by a very numerous and powerful party, they were unable to go beyond vain threats.

Let it not be inferred, however, from this eulogium of the economy of 1792 and 1835, that we would speak in the same laudatory strain of the use made in following years of the resources which that economy had procured. If retrenchment were necessarily followed by insane wars, like that against the French Republic, or by barbarous and impolitic expeditions like that in Syria, we should then cease to advocate it, and would rather recommend an increase of the establishments, in order that

* See appendix to Report on Navy Estimates. Session 1848, page 863.

the nation might be more effectually crippled, and more certainly incapacitated from going to war.

The famous year 1848 furnishes us with the last example, and here again our present foreign Secretary will play an important part.

A rational and even tempered minister would not have involved himself in broils with Spain, nor meddled with the quarrels between Austria and Sardinia, Naples and Sicily: but if he had been betrayed into such a step, he would certainly have taken care that the policy of the country should be dignified; that its voice should be attended to; that its offers of mediation should be respectfully received; that its dictates, if they were even imprudently given, should be obeyed; and in order to arrive at that end, he would, if necessary, have employed force. Who that knows the irritable temper of the foreign Secretary, can suppose for a moment that he would not have resorted to the same means which he employed in 1840? who can suppose that he would have sat patiently under the severest humiliations—that he would have tamely seen our ambassador banished from Madrid, our mediation scoffed at by Austria, and despised even by a King of Naples, if he had not felt the utter impossibility of adding to the already overstrained expenditure of the country?

The same reason has kept the French within bounds during the year just alluded to, and forced the fiery republicans, even when they held the helm of the state in their own hands, to abstain from hostile proceedings towards other nations, in spite of their five hundred thousand soldiers and their powerful fleet. French ministers for foreign affairs have been of late years as clamorous as our own for the maintenance of the national defences in a high state of efficiency; and to them, as to Viscount Palmerston, foreign nations may apply what is said of Monkbarns in the Antiquary, "His bark was aye waur than his bite." *

We have then more than one practical proof that large armaments bring dishonour and humiliation on the country that maintains them; not of course *ipso facto* because they are large, but because they strain the resources of the country so far as to render it very difficult to get that something more which is still necessary in order to make a hostile demonstration and to be prepared for the consequences, and in a constitutional country this inconvenience is so much the greater because it cannot be concealed. Every people in Europe knows that our expenditure has been of late years greater than our income, that there is a strong clamour for reduction, that the nation is but little disposed to go to war, and entirely indisposed to part with its money. They feel quite safe, notwithstanding the blustering of a Secretary for foreign affairs, that no hostile step *can* be taken.

Contrast this with the condition of another country which does not keep up such enormous establishments, the United States. It is a painful task for an Englishman to compare the foreign policy of that country with our own, but the real interests of the nation will be served by acknow-

* Since the above was written, the recent debate in the French Assembly, on the affairs of the Rio de la Plata, has taken place. It is here very evident that war would have been declared against Rosas if the finances had not been in such a bad state. The men are not wanting, but the money is.

ledging the unpalatable truth. We ourselves have had three serious discussions with America of late years—one with regard to the arrest and trial of M'Leod, another on the boundary question, and the last as to the Oregon territory. In every one of these questions we have been compelled to recede from the positions we had taken up in the first instance ; and if we have not conceded the whole of the extravagant pretensions put forth by the Americans, we have been forced, at all events, to let them have the lion's share ; and those who have attentively watched the progress of the negotiations, and the opinions of the public press, must confess that we always reckoned more upon the forbearance of the moderate party in the United States, than upon any dread of a rupture with ourselves.

The Americans have used the same high language towards France in 1832, and have treated the Brazilian government, scarcely two years ago, with arrogant superciliousness. Their flag is seen all over the world, and nowhere is there a flag more respected, though their navy is so inferior to our own, or to that of France. But, despite of this paucity of forces, the tone of the United States towards other countries is not only firm but overbearing ; and all we dare to flatter ourselves with is, that we are on a *par* of influence with them ; that our remonstrances are *as much* heeded as theirs, and that in questions between them and ourselves we do not come off second best. And it is in vain that those who are galled by the *equality*, or it might rather be said *superiority* of the United States over their own country, lay the flattering unction to their souls that the Americans *would* be beaten in a contest with England. Granted, however contrary to the experience derived from past events, that they would be beaten *if* they were attacked, it is not the less true that no one *dares* attack them.

When they incorporated the Texas with the Union, both France and England looked on with suppressed indignation, longing to prevent the annexation but not venturing to interfere. When an aggressive warfare was undertaken against Mexico, with the avowed intention of territorial conquest, we made no display of force—nay, not even a remonstrance ; and yet when the French attacked Vera Cruz in a manner the most *debonnaire* that could be—not for the sake of conquest, but merely to obtain reparation for their injured countrymen—we had a fleet in the same waters, and every movement of the French squadron was narrowly looked after and frequently controlled.

What, then, was the real reason of this different way of acting towards the two powers—but that the venture was safe against France, crippled in her finances by the maintenance of enormous forces, and that it was not so against the United States, whose slender means of carrying on war were capable of indefinite extension from the patriotism and warlike spirit of its inhabitants, but specially from their being lightly taxed, and able to increase the revenues of the state on an emergency ?

In England the regular war establishments are great, and the warlike spirit of the people small ; in the United States, on the contrary, the war establishments are small, but the people are accustomed to the use of arms, and the backwoodsman with his gun on his shoulder feels that he is able to repel an invader, and wants no regular army to defend him.

Yet, in spite of the unfavorable position in which profuse expenditure has placed this country, though it may be deemed impossible to raise money for a war of aggression, it would be looking upon matters in too desponding a light to consider that the same impossibility would exist in case of invasion. When a people is attacked at home and fights *pro aris et focis*, it has no choice, and will make any sacrifice. The French have done so in 1793, and in spite of the embarrassments of England, she would do it to-morrow if it were necessary ; but it may fairly be contended that the effort would be infinitely more painful and difficult after the constant drain on the national resources of late years ; and it may be as fairly maintained, that even for this extreme case of invasion, supposing it not to be as impracticable, nay impossible as it really is, there is not the slightest necessity for being always armed to the teeth. Hostilities between nations the most unscrupulous are no longer sudden piratical expeditions, as they were in the days of our Saxon ancestors. Notice is given, negotiations are carried on, preparations are made on the aggressor's side which cannot be kept secret, and the party who has reason to apprehend an attack has time to make his preparations for defence.

We have seen how England, towards the close of the last century, raised her naval forces, in less than a twelvemonth, from 18,739 to 76,565, and *that* in order to carry on an aggressive warfare. The temper of the times is too much changed, and the national burdens are too great, to admit of a repetition of such an effort for a war of the same description ; but let the country be seriously threatened with invasion and it would again be submitted to, though it cannot too often be said that the better the financial position of the nation, the more rapidly would the necessary armaments be made ; whereas the more the public resources had been tampered with by keeping up large establishments, the greater would be the difficulty of increasing them if a case of real emergency were to occur.

To sum up all the above arguments, we repeat that the most efficient way of preparing for war is by having a full exchequer, and by reducing the national expenditure. It is not so much the want of men, or even of ships and ammunition, that will tell against a nation in the hour of need, as the *res angusta domi*, that evil which cripples the force and lowers the tone both of France and England at this moment ; and will even extend its influence to the United States themselves, if—dazzled by the splendour of their achievements in Mexico—they abandon the peaceful, and consequently economical policy which has been the source of their wealth and power.

After having pointed out the evil, our next duty is to seek for an efficient remedy ; but a research into the means of arriving at this desired end of reducing the national burdens, entails an enquiry into every branch of the expenditure ; and one reason why all efforts at serious and effective retrenchment have failed, is to be found in the circumstance that the question has not yet been laid before the public in a wholesale and comprehensive manner—but one party has criticised the army estimates, another the navy. Sometimes a sweeping reduction has been proposed in

a lump, but no statement has been published of the probable charge in detail, of each department, considered as practically sufficient to conduct the business it has to perform,—by which means an opinion might be formed at once of the entire amount of the sum to be saved, and of the efficiency of the establishments proposed to be kept up, and the question thus fairly brought to an issue.

It is owing to these circumstances that financial reform appears, in some people's eyes, like a utopia of no practical application ; and such of its adversaries as are personally interested in the question, either from pecuniary or party motives, are not displeased to propagate this notion, more particularly as it dispenses them from replying to arguments which they are unable to combat with the weapons of logic.

The total expenditure of the United Kingdom, as is pretty generally known, is classed under three heads :—The charges of collection and payments out of revenue in its progress to the Exchequer ; the expenses considered as of a permanent character, including the Civil List, and charged upon what is called the Consolidated Fund, or general revenue of the country ; and lastly, the expenditure for the Navy, Army, Ordnance, and Miscellaneous Services.

The last of these categories is the only one subject to parliamentary control, and is provided for by annual votes ; the second consists of the interest of the national debt, and of sums that have been voted by different Acts of Parliament for lives, or for a stipulated term, and for which no renewed application to the legislature is necessary. The first is altogether under the control of the executive.

For the information of such of our readers as may not be disposed to wade through the annually published finance accounts, we lay before them the following statement of the national expenditure (exclusively, of course, of the interest on the ~~funded~~ funded and unfunded debt) for the last two years ; but it must be premised that the whole of the items do not, strictly speaking, apply to the years which are at the head of the columns, the sums included in the two first categories, namely, the charges of collection, &c., and the charge on the Consolidated Fund alone representing the outlay actually incurred for the years under which they are placed ; whereas those which compose the third category apply to the year following, the amounts in the first column being the sums *voted* for 1848-9, and those in the latter the sums *estimated* for the expenditure of the current year, 1849-50. Thus the first column shows the *Charges of collection, and payments out of revenue in its progress to the Exchequer*, and the *Charge on the Consolidated Fund* for 1847-8, and the *Votes* for 1848-9 ; the second gives the two former sorts of expenditure *incurred* for 1848-9, and the *Estimates* for 1849-50, as submitted to Parliament.

This method of making out the statement may appear strange, but the very way in which the public accounts are kept renders it indispensable, if the latest scale of expenditure is to be set forth, since the *Charges of collection, &c.*, are only determined and made known when the expence is incurred, and the charge on the Consolidated Fund depends in some measure upon contingencies provided for by Acts of Parliament, which cannot be known prospectively ; whereas the amounts applicable to the remaining branches of the public service are fixed for the ensuing year

by estimates, which are laid before the House of Commons, and guide it in its votes.

The totals, it is true, do not show the exact amount of each year's expenditure, but the comparison may be made with as great accuracy as if they did; for although the expenditure in each column is applicable part to one year and part to another, yet the *corresponding* items are in

This premised, we give

1848.			
Charges of Collection and Payments out of Revenue in its progress to the Exchequer.....	....	£4,478,850	3 5½
Charge on the Consolidated Fund.—			
Civil List	£393,995	0 0	
Pensions: civil, military, and naval *	490,788	7 3	
Do. diplomatic	35,416	8 9	
Total, subject only to contingency of life	920,199	16 0	
Salaries and allowances	262,794	6 0	
Diplomatic salaries	140,000	0 0	
Courts of justice and police	1,053,483	18 0	
Miscellaneous charges †	177,299	15 3	
		2,553,777	15 3
Navy	7,764,020	0 0	
Army	7,037,795	0 0	
Ordnance	2,801,760	0 0	
Miscellaneous	3,783,573	0 0	
		21,387,148	0 0
Grand Total .....	....	£28,419,775	18 8½

This Expenditure still farther analyzed,

CHARGES OF COLLECTION AND PAYMENTS OUT OF

1848.			
Salaries—Civil Estabmt.	£1,979,270	18 3½	
Naval ditto	96,791	7 10	
Judicial† ditto in Scot-			
land	105,968	5 9	
Clergy†	17,823	17 3	
		£2,199,854	9 1½

* The chapter is £526,788 7s. 3d., but the sum refunded by the Trustees for the King of the Belgians, £86,000, is deducted therefrom.

† The chapter is £317,660 6s. 7d., but from this must be deducted the payments of interest and sinking fund on Russian and Greek Loan, £140,360 11s. 4d. A similar deduction is made in the corresponding chapter for 1849.

‡ These payments, as well as the remaining ones qualified *Judicial* under this head, and which are for the support of the Judicial Establishment in Scotland, are part of the payments out of Revenue in its progress to the Exchequer.

both cases either *wholly* paid expenses or *wholly* prospective ones, so that for each of them there is just the difference of a year. The total result itself is also very near the truth, since the charges of collection, &c., and charge on the Consolidated Fund vary but little, and might be considered as *prospective* expenditure for the next year without leading to any material error.

the following detail :—

1849.			
Charges of Collection and Payments out of Revenue in its progress to the Exchequer.....			
	....	£4,558,589	15 7½
Charge on the Consolidated Fund. —			
Civil List	£395,395	0 0	
Pensions: civil, military, and naval..	467,694	7 10½	
Do. diplomatic	32,595	9 3	
Total, subject only to contingency of life	895,684	17 1	
Salaries and allowances.....	271,273	0 0	
Diplomatic salaries.....	140,000	0 0	
Courts of justice and police	1,097,924	1 9	
Miscellaneous charges	210,291	9 11	
		2,615,173	8 9
Navy..	6,260,740	0 0	
	748,296	0 0½	
	6,142,211	0 0	
Army	113,000	0 0	
	531,872	0 0¾	
Ordnance	2,654,270	0 0	
Miscellaneous.....	3,925,731	0 0	
		20,376,120	0 0
Grand Total .....	....	£27,549,883	4 4½

takes the following shape—

REVENUE IN ITS PROGRESS TO THE EXCHEQUER :—

1849.			
Salaries—Civil Estabmt.			
Naval ditto - -	£1,959,642	6 9½	
Judicial† ditto in Scotland - - -	96,404	8 10	
Clergy† - - -	118,449	12 2	
	16,851	5 7	
		2,191,347	13 4½

|| The chapter is £508,694 7s. 10d., but the same deduction is made.

§ For contracts for Mail Packet Service, comprised before in Navy estimates.

¶ Of these two sums the former is for the Militia, the latter for the Commissariat Department, the expenditure for both of which was included in the Army Estimates prior to the present year.

1848.				
Brought forward	-	-	-	£2,199,854 9 1½
Wages—Civil branch	-	£175,589	2 0	
Naval*	-	251,129	18 4	
				426,719 0 4
Special Services & travelling—Civil branch	-	129,069	14 7	
Naval	-	2,743	17 10	
				131,813 12 5
Repairs & building ships and boats	-	-	-	36,125 2 3
Repairs of Buildings and Estates—Civil	-	272,869	16 4	
Naval	-	7,619	9 1	
Judicial	-			
				280,489 5 5
Public Works	-	-	-	27,747 17 2
Tradesmen's bills and victualling — Civil branch	-	39,353	10 5½	
Naval	-	44,972	1 5	
				84,325 11 10½
Law Expenses	-	-	-	24,998 4 10
Convicts	-	-	-	3,090 17 7½
Postages	-	-	-	51,498 17 1½
Printing & Stationery	-	-	-	2,724 10 10
Pensions — connected with the Service	-	313,331	9 0½	
Unconnected	-	44,246	8 3	
				357,577 17 3½
Allowances & Compensation—Civil	-	82,146	10 1½	
Naval	-	41,528	7 7	
Judicial	-	23,775	13 9	
				147,450 11 5½
Rents—Civil branch	-	90,062	6 2½	
Naval	-	10,251	9 9	
				100,313 15 11½
Conveyance of mails and letters	-	-	-	507,773 14 10½
Miscellaneous Expenses—Civil branch	-	89,811	0 6½	
Naval	-	6,535	14 4	
				96,346 14 10½
Total Charges of Collection, &c.	-	-	-	£4,478,850 3 5½

CHARGE ON THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Civil List	-	£393,995	0 0
Salaries — Civil officers and Commissions	-	£208,450	19 2
Judicial	-	312,992	6 11
Clergy	-	20,300	0 0
Carried forward	-	£541,743	6 1

* The expenditure qualified Naval is for the cruisers and preventive service. By

1849.					
Brought forward	-	-	-	£2,191,347	13 4½
Wages—Civil branch	-	£213,326	7 3½		
Naval*	-	263,112	1 7		
				476,438	8 10½
Special Services & travelling—Civil branch	-	122,917	5 11½		
Naval	-	2,896	7 1		
				125,813	13 0½
Repairs & building ships and boats	-	-	-	29,669	10 10
Repairs of Buildings and Estates—Civil	-	171,651	7 3½		
Naval	-	6,880	2 6		
Judicial	-	389	0 2		
				178,920	9 11½
Public Works	-	-	-	12,585	5 5
Tradesmen's bills and victualling — Civil Branch	-	37,264	0 1		
Naval	-	45,058	4 0		
				82,322	4 1
Law Expenses	-	-	-	24,088	14 10½
Convicts	-	-	-	3,612	12 8
Postages	-	-	-	47,514	5 0½
Printing & Stationery	-	-	-	4,288	9 11½
Pensions — connected with the Service	-	300,226	15 8½		
Unconnected	-	53,594	14 10½		
				353,821	10 6½
Allowances & Compensations—Civil	-	82,467	17 4		
Naval	-	43,177	8 11		
Judicial	-	10,191	12 4		
				135,836	18 7
Rents—Civil branch	-	88,925	17 3		
Naval	-	11,379	10 3		
				100,305	7 6
Conveyance of mails and letters	-	-	-	698,405	17 9
Miscellaneous Expenses—Civil branch	-	87,107	8 0½		
Naval	-	6,511	5 1		
				93,618	13 1½
Total Charges of Collection, &c.	-	-	-	£4,558,589	15 7½

CHARGE ON THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Civil List	-	-	£395,395	0 0
Salaries—Civil officers and Commissions	-	210,879	9 2	
Judicial	-	346,854	9 4	
Clergy	-	20,300	0 0	
Carried forward	-	£578,033	18 6	

uniting the different sorts of expenditure we arrive at the following result:—(see p. 14.)

1848.

Brought forward	£541,743	6	1	393,995	0	0	4,478,850	3	5½
Educational department	31,007	7	10						
Art and science	1,355	0	0						
Charitable institutions	1,016	19	0						
				575,122	12	11			
Diplomatic salaries	-	-	-	-	140,000	0	0		
Police force—England	90,917	6	2						
„ Ireland	539,924	0	0						
				630,841	6	2			
Repairs—Judicial department	-	-	-	-	300	0	0		
Public works	-	-	-	-	63,380	0	0		
Pensions—Royal family and civil	415,140	3	2						
Naval services	17,500	0	0						
Military	17,689	11	2						
Judicial	39,458	12	11						
Colonial	1,000	0	0						
Police	3,588	5	9						
Diplomatic	35,416	8	9						
				529,793	1	9			
Allowances and compensations—Civil	26,382	13	1						
Judicial	78,268	10	2						
				104,651	3	3			
Special services—Judicial	-	-	-	-	2,338	0	0		
Prevention of Slave Trade	-	-	-	-	49,262	0	0		
Educational purposes	-	-	-	-	13,500	0	0		
Charitable purposes	-	-	-	-	23,251	16	11		
Secret service money	-	-	-	-	10,000	0	0		
Convicts	-	-	-	-	17,342	14	3		
					2,553,777	15	3		

NAVY.

Excess expenditure over grants,	
1846	£245,410
Wages	1,393,506
Victuals	610,930
Military pensions	500,288
Stores	1,357,213
Half-pay	719,740
Wages, artificers at home	811,346
New works	626,601
Salaries, &c., Admiralty office	136,303

Carried forward £6,401,337

7,032,627 18 8½

			1848,		1849.			
Civil	..	..	£3,833,584	18	3½	£3,907,619	6	3½
Naval	..	..	497,697	8	5	505,088	19	1
Judicial	..	..	129,743	19	6	129,030	4	8
Clergy	..	..	17,823	17	3	16,851	5	7
			£4,478,850	3	5½	£4,558,589	15	7¼

1849.									
Brought forward	-	£578,033	18	6	395,395	0	0	4,558,589	15 7½
Educational department	- - -	31,007	18	3					
Art and science	- - -	1,350	0	0					
Charitable institutions	- - -	1,150	0	0					
					611,541	16	9		
Diplomatic salaries	-				140,000	0	0		
Police Force—England	-	95,686	6	7					
„ Ireland	-	551,850	0	0					
					647,536	6	7		
Repairs—Judicial department	- - -	.....							
Public works	- - -				72,346	17	6		
Pensions—Royal family and civil	- - -	405,831	5	6*					
Naval services	- - -	17,500	0	0					
Military	- - -	16,000	0	0					
Judicial	- - -	32,763	2	4					
Colonial	- - -	1,000	0	0					
Police	- - -	6,615	1	0					
Diplomatic	- - -	32,595	9	3					
					512,304	18	1		
Allowances and Compen- sations—Civil	- - -	24,250	13	1					
Judicial	- - -	65,979	9	6					
					90,230	2	7		
Special services—Judicial	.....				2,512	16	0		
Prevention of Slave Trade	.....				81,391	10	0		
Educational purposes	- - -	.....							
Charitable purposes	- - -	.....			23,251	16	11		
Secret service money	- - -	.....			10,000	0	0		
Convicts	- - -	.....			28,662	4	4		
								2,615,173	8 9

NAVY.

Excess expenditure over grants, 1846	- - - - -	
Wages	- - - - -	1,355,420
Victuals	- - - - -	538,642
Military pensions	- - - - -	500,561
Stores	- - - - -	1,168,869
Half-pay	- - - - -	732,252
Wages, artificers at home	- - - - -	764,763
New works	- - - - -	391,934
Salaries, &c., Admiralty office	- - - - -	138,214

Carried forward £5,590,655

7,173,763 4 4½

* The annuity of £5,400 granted to Mr. Baker, for building barracks in the Regent's Park, is included in this amount.

1848.

Brought forward	-	-	£6,401,337	7,032,627 18 8½
Registry office for seamen	-	-	9,701	
Scientific department	-	-	77,261	
Naval establishments at home	-	-	139,350	
Ditto abroad	-	-	25,839	
Wages, artificers abroad	-	-	39,280	
Medicines	-	-	25,075	
Miscellaneous	-	-	66,573	
Freight ships for army & ordnance	-	-	181,322	
Convicts	-	-	43,602	
Civil pensions	-	-	152,018	
Contracts for mail packets	-	-	602,662	
				7,764,020

ARMY.

Forces	-	-	-	3,836,880
General staff officers	-	-	-	168,237
Public departments	-	-	-	96,591
Royal Military Asylum	-	-	-	19,161
Royal Military College	-	-	-	
Volunteer corps	-	-	-	80,309
Rewards for military service	-	-	-	15,507
Army pay of general officers	-	-	-	76,000
Retired officers' full pay	-	-	-	57,000
Half-pay and military allowances	-	-	-	406,000
Foreign officers' half-pay	-	-	-	47,386
Widows' pensions	-	-	-	129,531
Compassionate allowances	-	-	-	98,000
Superannuation ditto	-	-	-	37,500
In-door pensioners	-	-	-	26,774
Pensioners on duty	-	-	-	25,000
Out-door pensioners	-	-	-	1,223,810
Disembodied militia	-	-	-	122,800
Commissariat	-	-	-	528,345
Ditto half-pay	-	-	-	42,964
				7,037,795

ORDNANCE.

Military corps	-	-	-	716,254
Commissariat and barrack supplies	-	-	-	316,031
Ordnance office	-	-	-	91,136
Establishments in United Kingdom and Colonies	-	-	-	235,646
Wages of artificers	-	-	-	158,567
Stores for land and sea service	-	-	-	463,743
Ordnance and barrack works	-	-	-	584,155
Scientific branch	-	-	-	68,787
Non-effective	-	-	-	167,441
				2,801,760

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

New Houses of Parliament	£120,000
Buckingham Palace	- 30,000
Palm-house at Kew	- 8,410
Works in the Isle of Man	- 4,050
Holyhead Harbour	- 12,792
British Museum	- 42,038

Carried forward	-	£217,290	£17,603,575	£7,032,627 18 8½
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1849.

Brought forward - - -	£5,590,655	£7,173,763	4	44
Registry office for seamen - - -	9,772			
Scientific department - - -	52,847			
Naval establishments at home - - -	137,287			
Ditto abroad - - -	24,873			
Wages, artificers abroad - - -	40,744			
Medicines - - -	27,605			
Miscellaneous - - -	68,400			
Freight ships for army & ordnance - - -	147,200			
Convicts - - -	161,357			
Civil pensions - - -				
		£6,260,740		
Contracts for mail packets - - -	- - -	748,296		

ARMY.

Forces - - -	3,655,588			
General staff officers - - -	173,376			
Public departments - - -	94,199			
Royal Military Asylum - - -	19,298			
Royal Military College - - -	17,408			
Volunteer corps - - -	66,286			
Rewards for military service - - -	15,120			
Army pay of general officers - - -	78,908			
Retired officers' full pay - - -	56,000			
Half-pay and military allowances - - -	400,000			
Foreign officers half-pay - - -	44,156			
Widows' pensions - - -	128,778			
Compassionate allowances - - -	95,500			
Superannuation ditto - - -	38,000			
In-door pensioners - - -	} 35,541			
Pensioners on duty - - -				
Out-door pensioners - - -	1,224,053			
		6,142,211		
Disembodied militia - - -		113,000		
Commissariat - - -	488,000			
Ditto half-pay - - -	43,872			
		531,872		

ORDNANCE.

Military corps - - -	711,895			
Commissariat and barrack supplies - - -	301,650			
Ordnance office - - -	85,881			
Establishments in United Kingdom and Colonies - - -	315,373			
Wages of artificers - - -	141,330			
Stores for land and sea service - - -	323,418			
Ordnance and barrack works - - -	508,205			
Scientific branch - - -	94,859			
Non-effective - - -	171,659			
		2,654,270		

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

New Houses of Parliament	£109,900
Buckingham Palace - -	14,200
Palm-house at Kew - -	....
Works in the Isle of Man	....
Holyhead Harbour - -	45,771
British Museum - -	36,288

Carried forward - £206,159

16,450,389 7,173,763 4 44

c

1848.					
Brought forward	-	£217,290		£17,603,575	7,032,627 18 8½
Harbours of refuge	-	131,000			
Lybite Harbour	-	....			
Buildings in Ireland	-	23,167			
Kingstown Harbour	-	8,100			
Nelson Monument	-	2,000			
Caledonian Canal	-	....			
Lighthouse at Barbadoes	-	2,000			
Temporary Houses of Parliament	-	4,234			
Repairs of public buildings	-	120,923			
			£508,714		
Civil contingencies	-	-	100,000		
Printing and stationery	-	-	302,362		
SALARIES AND OFFICE EXPENSES.					
Salaries of both Houses of Parliament	-	30,000			
Treasury department	-	57,700			
„ Solicitor	-	9,000			
Home Department	-	18,700			
Foreign	-	72,500			
Colonial	-	27,461			
Privy Council and Board of Trade	-	39,000			
Lord Privy Seal	-	2,000			
Paymaster General's office	-	25,000			
Ecclesiastical Commissioners	-	3,540			
Comptroller General of Exchequer and Paymaster Civil Services	-	11,300			
Public records	-	14,023			
Mint	-	50,268			
Paymaster of Civil Services, Ireland	-	5,546			
Board of Public Works, Ireland	-	40,800			
State paper office	-	2,680			
Poor Law Board	-	236,000			
Commissioners of Railways	-	10,670			
Inspectors of Factories	-	12,514			
Salaries of officers, Scotland	-	1,755			
Officers of Lord Lieutenant	-	6,464			
Offices Chief Secretary, Ireland	-	22,658			
			699,579		
LAW.					
Expense of prosecutions in England	-	253,000*			
Carried forward	-	£253,000	1,610,655	17,603,575	7,032,627 18 8½

* The vote is in one figure, £348,000 for expenses of county prosecutions, but in that is included maintenance of prisoners in county gaols condemned to be transported, from the time of their imprisonment to the day when they leave the gaol. This sum was £95,000 in the estimates.

1849.				
Brought forward	- £206,159	£16,450,389	7,173,763	4 4½
Harbours of Refuge	- - 141,500			
Lybite Harbour	- - 3,000			
Buildings in Ireland	- - 24,233			
Kingstown Harbour	- - 9,550			
Nelson Monument	- - 2,800			
Caledonian Canal	- - 10,000			
Lighthouse at Barbadoes	- 7,300			
Temporary Houses of Parliament	- - - 3,284			
Repairs of public buildings	103,467			
	£511,293			
Civil contingencies	- - - 100,000			
Printing and Stationery	- - 277,762			

SALARIES AND OFFICE EXPENSES.

Salaries of both Houses				
of Parliament	-	93,200*		
Treasury department	-	57,200*		
Ditto Solicitor	-	26,000		
Home department	-	25,400*		
Foreign ditto	-	76,000*		
Colonial ditto	-	36,900*		
Privy Council and Board				
of Trade	-	43,000*		
Lord Privy Seal	-	2,000		
Paymaster General's				
office	-	23,900*		
Ecclesiastical Commissioners	-	3,540		
Comptroller General of				
Exchequer and Paymaster Civil Services		6,626		
Public records	-	12,822		
Mint	-	45,194		
Paymaster of Civil Services, Ireland				
	-	5,596		
Board of Public Works,				
Ireland	-	39,562		
State paper office	-	2,700		
Poor Law Board	-	240,000		
Commissioners of Railways				
	-	7,996		
Inspectors of Factories		11,879		
Salaries of officers, Scotland				
	-	1,755		
Officers of Lord Lieutenant				
	-	6,464		
Offices, Chief Secretary, Ireland				
	-	24,235*		
		791,969		

LAW.

Expense of prosecutions in England				
	-	258,000		
Carried forward	-	£258,000	1,681,024	16,450,389 7,173,763 4 4½

* The net cost of the offices bearing this mark is not so great as the sums estimated, inasmuch as various fees and profits are received at those offices which were formerly

1848.

Brought forward	-	£253,000	1,610,655	17,603,575	7,032,627	18	8½
Expense of Prosecutions							
in Scotland	-	63,475					
Ditto, ditto, Ireland	-	71,991					
Ditto, ditto, Offences against the laws relating to the coin	-	9,600					
Ditto, Sheriffs, &c.	-	16,000					
Insolvent Debtors' Court		10,630					
			424,696				

PRISONS AND CONVICTS.

Maintenance of prisoners in county gaols	95,000						
Parkhurst prison	-	13,155					
Pentonville	„	17,204					
Millbank	„	45,334					
Perth	„	8,707					
Inspectors of prisons	-	10,250					
Convict depot, Dublin		679					
Criminal lunatics	-	4,202					
Expense of convicts at home, Gibraltar, and Bermuda	-	161,000					
Ditto, in New South Wales	-	217,000					
Expenses of transportation	-		572,531				

Police at Dublin	-	-	-	36,500			
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EDUCATION.

General grant, Great Britain	-	125,000					
Ditto Ireland	-	120,000					
Schools of Design	-	10,000					
Professors at Oxford							
Cambridge	-	2,006					
London University	-	4,178					
Scottish Universities	-	7,480					
Royal Irish Academy	-	300					
Royal Hibernian Academy	-	300					

Carried forward	-	£269,264	2,644,382	17,603,575	7,032,627	18	8½
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deducted in making the estimates, and are now paid into the Exchequer, and appear as a receipt to the credit of the Consolidated Fund.

These fees and profits, in the order in which the offices are marked, were during the last year—

£61,550
3,100
10,500
9,500
9,500
800
1,657
1,804

Total - £98,411

Which, with £7000 produced from the sale of Parliamentary Papers, forms the £105,411 deducted, page 27, from the total expenditure of the current year.

1849.

Brought forward	- £258,000	1,681,024	16,450,389	7,173,763	4	4½
Expense of Prosecutions in Scotland	- 73,730					
Ditto, ditto, Ireland	- 63,991					
Ditto, ditto, Offences against the laws relating to the coin	- 9,000					
Ditto, Sheriffs, &c.	- 17,700					
Insolvent Debtors' Court	- 10,370					
		432,791				

PRISONS AND CONVICTS.

Maintenance of prisoners in county gaols	95,000					
Parkhurst Prison	- 12,134					
Pentonville ditto	- 15,573					
Millbank ditto	- 40,643					
Perth ditto	- 6,597					
Inspectors of prisons	- 14,331					
Convict dépôt, Dublin						
Criminal Lunatics	- 3,840					
Expense of Convicts at home, Gibraltar, and Bermuda	184,046*					
	28,341					
Ditto in New South Wales	- 229,905					
Expenses of Transportation	- 72,113					
		702,523				
Police at Dublin	- 35,500					

EDUCATION.

General Grant, Great Britain	- 125,000					
Ditto Ireland	- 120,000					
Schools of Design	- 10,000					
Professors at Oxford and Cambridge	- 2,006					
London University	- 4,000					
Scottish Universities	- 7,480					
Royal Irish Academy	- 300					
Royal Hibernian Academy	- 300					
Carried forward	£269,086	2,851,838	16,450,389	7,173,763	4	4½

* Of this £83,642 are for construction of prisons, and belong more properly to *Public Works*.

1848.					
Brought forward	-	£269,264	2,644,382	17,603,575	7,032,627 18 8½
Belfast Academical Institution	-	3,442			
			272,706		
ART AND SCIENCE.					
British Museum	-	48,445			
Antiquities for ditto	-	8,766			
National Gallery	-	1,500			
Royal Dublin Society	-	6,000			
Geological survey	-	10,798			
Observations at Toronto	-	5,267			
			80,776		
CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENT					
	-	123,190			
Missions	-	20,000			
			143,190		
Foreign Secret Service Money	-		39,000		
COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.					
Hong Kong	-	49,400			
Bermudas	-	4,049			
Bahamas	-	3,410			
Prince Edward's Island	-	3,070			
Sable Island	-	400			
Western Coast of Africa	-	13,680			
St. Helena	-	11,500			
Western Australia	-	7,538			
Port Essington	-	2,725			
Falkland Islands	-	5,040			
New Zealand	-	20,000			
Labuan	-	9,827			
Heligoland	-	1,023			
West Indies	-	18,028			
Ecclesiastical Establishments in British North America					
	-	11,578			
Indian department in Canada					
	-	14,308			
Militia, Canada					
	-	16,000			
Colonial Land and Emigration Board					
	-	13,451			
Justices in West Indies	-	41,150			
			246,177		
SLAVE TRADE.					
Support of captured Negroes					
	-	30,000			
Commissioners for suppressing trade					
	-	23,000			
			53,000		
Superannuations	-		77,200		
Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland					
	-		36,837		
CHARITABLE GRANTS.					
House of Industry, Dublin					
	-	14,975			
Charitable allowances, Ireland					
	-	7,177			
Foundling Hospital, Dublin					
	-	3,000			
Carried forward	-	£25,152	3,593,268	17,603,575	7,032,627 18 8½

1849.					
Brought forward	- £269,086	2,851,838	16,450,389	7,173,763	4 4½
Belfast Academical Institution	- - 3,100				
		272,186			
ART AND SCIENCE.					
British Museum	- - 42,915				
Antiquities for ditto	- - 1,500				
National Gallery	- - 1,500				
Royal Dublin Society	- - 6,000				
Geological Survey	- - 18,000				
Observations at Toronto	- - 5,000				
		74,915			
CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENT					
Missions	- - 148,690				
	- - 20,000				
		168,690			
Foreign Secret Service Money	- - 39,000				
COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENTS.					
Hong Kong	- - 25,000				
Bermudas	- - 4,049				
Bahamas	- - 290				
Prince Edward's Island	- - 2,000				
Sable Island	- - -				
Western Coast of Africa	- - 13,680				
St. Helena	- - 16,940				
Western Australia	- - 7,379				
Port Essington	- - 1,763				
Falkland Islands	- - 5,700				
New Zealand	- - 20,000				
Labuan	- - 9,827				
Heligoland	- - 1,023				
West Indies	- - 18,028				
Ecclesiastical Establishments in British North America	- - 11,578				
Indian department in Canada	- - 14,102				
Militia, Canada	- - 16,000				
Colonial Land and Emigration Board	- - 13,654				
Justices in West Indies	- - 41,150				
		222,163			
SLAVE TRADE.					
Support of captured Negroes	- - 30,000				
Commissioners for suppressing trade	- - 16,850				
		46,850			
Superannuations	- - -	110,117			
Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland	- - -	37,183			
CHARITABLE GRANTS.					
House of Industry, Dublin	- - 12,093				
Charitable allowances, Ireland	- - 7,096				
Foundling Hospital, Dublin	- - 1,000				
Carried forward	- £20,189	3,822,942	16,450,389	7,173,763	4 4½

1848.								
Brought forward	-	£25,152	3,593,268	17,603,575	7,032,627	18	8½	
Female Orphan House, Dublin	-	1,000						
Lying-in-Hospital, ditto	-	1,000						
House of Recovery, ditto	-	3,800						
Hospital for Incurables, ditto	-	500						
National Vaccine Institution	-	2,000						
St. Stephen's Hospital	-	1,500						
Westmoreland Lock Hospital	-	2,500						
Refuge for the Destitute	-	3,000						
Allowances formerly paid for Civil List	-	6,669						
Toulonese and Corsican emigrants	-	4,400						
Polish refugees	-	10,700						
			62,221					

MISCELLANEOUS AND TEMPORARY.

Steam communication to India	-	50,000						
Criminal Law Commission	-	3,400						
Metropolitan Sanitary Commission	-	2,500						
General Board of Health	-	-						
Ditto, for Ireland	-	-						
Navigation Works Ireland	-	32,000						
Ambassador's House, Paris	-	1,184						
Ditto, Madrid	-	3,000						
Ditto, Constantinople	-	12,000						
Medals for army and navy service	-	22,500						
Remuneration to Lieutenant Waghorn	-	1,500						
			£128,084	3,783,573	21,387,148	0	0	
Total Expenditure			-		£28,419,775	18	8½	

1848.

Brought forward

£28,419,775 18 8½

There must be deducted from the expenditure of 1848, the amounts voted to pay excess of expenditure for the preceding year, over and above sums voted, viz. :—

Navy - - - - - £245,410
 Poor Law Commission - - - - - 17,473

262,883 0 0

28,156,892 18 8½

And there must be added to the first year, and deducted from the last, the following amounts included in the estimates, 1849–50, for excess of expenditure 1848–49, viz. :—

Poor Law Board, Ireland - - - - £15,508
 Printing and stationery - - - - 4,200
 Law charges, Treasury - - - - 10,000
 Cost of prosecutions, Scotland - - - 4,455

34,163 0 0

Total, corrected - - - - - £28,191,055 18 8½

If we analyze this expenditure according to the different objects to

	1848.		Votes.	Totals, 1848.
	Charges of Collection, &c.	Charges on Con- solidated Fund.		
	£	£	£	£
Civil List.....	—	393,995 0 0	—	393,995 0 0
Civil departments, salaries and con- tingencies	3,437,089 10 2½	659,973 15 5	1,051,898	5,148,961 5 7½
Navy	497,697 8 5	17,600 0 0	46,915,948	7,431,145 8 5
Contracts for mail- packet service ...	—	—	602,662	602,662 0 0
Army and militia ..	—	17,689 11 2	6,466,486	6,484,175 11 2
Commissariat.....	—	—	571,309	571,309 0 0
Ordnance.....	—	—	2,801,760	2,801,760 0 0
Judicial department	129,743 19 5	433,357 10 0	†10,630	573,731 9 5
Police	—	634,429 11 11	36,600	670,929 11 11
Clergy	17,823 17 3	20,300 0 0	—	38,123 17 3
Colonial department	—	1,000 0 0	221,777	222,777 0 0
Diplomatic depart- ment.....	—	175,416 8 9	‡167,590	343,006 8 9
Public buildings, re- pairs and rents ..	390,679 19 8½	63,380 0 0	508,714	962,773 19 8½
Law expenses for prosecutions, &c..	—	—	*418,521	418,521 0 0
Convicts and prisons	3,090 17 7½	17,342 14 3	572,531	592,964 11 10½
Printing and sta- tionery	2,724 10 10	—	|| 306,562	309,286 10 10
Slave-trade	—	49,262 0 0	53,000	102,262 0 0
Education	—	44,507 7 10	272,706	317,213 7 10
Art and science....	—	1,355 0 0	80,776	82,131 0 0
Charitable purposes.	—	24,268 15 11	99,068	123,326 15 11
	£ 4,478,850 8 5½	2,553,777 15 3	21,158,428	28,191,055 18 8½

* Adding to 1848 the £4,455 excess to be paid in 1849–50 as per estimates, and deducting them from 1849.

† Expense of Insolvent Debtors' Court, which, in the Miscellaneous Estimates, is comprised under the head *Law Expenses*.

‡ Adding £24,400 for the Consulates in China, and deducting same from expenditure at Hong Kong, comprised in item immediately preceding.

|| Deducting the £245,410 excess of preceding year.

|| Adding the £4,200 explained in note * page 27.

1849.

Brought forward

£27,516,537 7 4½

And there must be added to the first year, and deducted from the last, the following amounts included in the estimates 1849-50, for excess of expenditure 1848-49, viz. :—

Poor Law Board, Ireland	-	-	-	£15,508
Printing and stationery	-	-	-	4,200
Law charges, Treasury	-	-	-	10,000
Cost of prosecutions, Scotland	-	-	-	4,455

34,163 0 0

27,482,374 7 4½

There must be deducted from the expenditure of 1849 the amount derived from fees, profits and sales of Parliamentary Papers in different public offices, as detailed in note page 20, amounting to

105,411 0 0

27,376,963 7 4½

And there must be added expense of steam communication with India, which has to be brought into the Post-office estimate

50,000 0 0

Total, corrected - - - - £27,426,963 7 4½

which it is applicable, we shall arrive at the following results :—

	1849. Charges of Collection, &c.		Charge on Con- solidated Fund.	Votes.	Totals, 1849.
	£		£	£	£
Civil list	—		395,395 0 0	—	395,395 0 0
Civil departments, salaries, and con- tingencies	3,626,555 13 8½		650,961 7 9	1,016,604	5,294,121 1 5½
Navy	505,088 19 1		17,500 0 0	6,260,740	6,783,328 19 1
Contracts for mail packet service...	—		—	748,296	748,296 0 0
Army and militia ..	—		16,000 0 0	6,255,211	6,271,211 0 0
Commissariat	—		—	531,872	531,872 0 0
Ordnance	—		—	2,654,270	2,654,270 0 0
Judicial department.	129,030 4 8		447,038 17 2	10,370	586,439 1 10
Police	—		654,151 7 7	35,500	689,651 7 7
Clergy	16,861 5 7		20,300 0 0	—	37,151 5 7
Colonial department	—		1,000 0 0	222,163	223,163 0 0
Diplomatic depart- ment	—		172,595 9 3	168,690	341,285 9 3
Public buildings, re- pairs, and rents ..	273,162 9 11½		72,346 17 6	511,293	856,802 7 5½
Law expenses for prosecutions, &c.	—		—	†417,966	417,966 0 0
Convicts and prisons	—		—	702,523	702,523 0 0
Printing and stati- onery	4,288 9 11½		—	*266,562	270,850 9 11½
Slave trade	—		81,391 10 0	46,850	128,241 10 0
Education	—		31,007 18 3	272,186	303,193 18 3
Art and science	—		1,350 0 0	74,915	76,265 0 0
Charitable purposes.	—		24,401 16 11	90,535	114,936 16 11
Totals	£4,554,977 2 11½		2,585,440 4 5**	20,286,546	27,426,963 7 4½

‡ Deducting the £3,612 12s. 8d. for convict clothing, charged also in Votes.

* Deducting the £1,071, salaries, &c. of inspectors of prisons in Ireland, charged also in Votes among the Expenditure for Convicts.

** Deducting this £1,071 and £28,662 4s. 4d. for convicts, charged also under the same head in Votes, and added in the above statement to Convict Expenditure.

* Deducting from amount estimated the £7,000 produced by sale of Parliamentary Papers, and £4,200 excess of preceding year.

The above statement is entirely independent of the extraordinary grants for relief of distress in Ireland, and of that last year for the Kaffir war.

It is fair to add, that the comparison of the two years would be still more favourable to 1849, if we took into account the sums arising from sales of old stores belonging to the Army, Navy, and Ordnance departments, which were formerly deducted from the gross estimates, and which amounted last year to £485,000; so that between the two years, the whole saving on ordinary expenditure is about £1,250,000; a very trifling economy upon such an enormous expenditure, and very disproportionate to the reductions which have been made in the numbers of the military and naval force.

It must still be added, that the Government has made some important reductions during 1849 in the charges of collection of the revenue, chiefly through the consolidation of the excise and stamps boards into one, amounting to upwards of £200,000, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's last financial statement.

All these reductions, and those which public report announces for the opening session, are a step in the right direction; but we believe they are insignificant compared with the saving that might be effected by a system of expenditure sufficient for the purpose of good government, and more especially in harmony with the circumstances and incumbrances of the nation.

We will now survey the different branches of expenditure in detail, beginning with the naval service.

The number of ships composing the fleet in 1848 was as follows:—

SAILING VESSELS.*							
			In Ordinary.		In Commission.		Total.
Ships of the Line	...	1st	rate	7	...	5	12
"	...	2nd	"	18	...	11	29
"	...	3rd	"	27	...	1	28
"	...	4th	"	14	...	7	21
"	...	5th	"	35	...	10	45
"	...	6th	"	14	...	15	29
Sloops or Brigs	...	...	...	31	...	49	80
Packets	...	...	...	2	...	9	11
Surveying vessels.	Troop, Store and Hospital Ships			20	...	...	20
Cutters, Schooners, Yachts and Tenders	6	...	...	24	...	...	30
				154	151	...	305

* The account of ships in ordinary is taken from a return made on the 22nd May, which will be found in the appendix to the Report on Navy Estimates, page 853-854, and that of the ships in commission from a return of the same date, in the report itself, page xlix. It must be observed, however, that entire dependence cannot be placed on the printed returns, on account of the discrepancies between them. Thus, in the list of ships in ordinary, we find the ten following 3rd-rate ships of the line, which do not appear anywhere in another list, dated 11th May, page 851, professing to be a list of all ships of the line, and gun-frigates fit for sea for 4 years without repair, viz., the *Agincourt*, *Armada*, *Black Prince*, *Benbow*, *Cornwallis*, *Devonshire*, *Defence*, *Invincible*, *Pitt* and

STEAM VESSELS.

	In Ordinary.		In Commission.		Ready, but not Commissioned.		Building.		Totals.	
	Nos.	H. P.	Nos.	H. P.	Nos.	H. P.	Nos.	H. P.	Nos.	H. P.
Line-of-battle - -	3	1,350	1	450	..	..	4	2,386	8	4,186
Frigates - - -	1	360	1	300	..	..	..	..	2	660
Steam frigates, 1st rate	2	1,200	2	1,450	1	800	3	1,320	8	4,770
" 2nd rate	3	1,456	7	3,457	3	1,416	..	..	13	6,329
Sloops, 1st rate - -	6	1,960	11	3,900	3	1,100	15	5,050	35	12,010
" 2nd rate - -	2	600	3	810	5	1,250	..	..	10	2,660
" 3rd rate - -	2	420	5	900	..	..	..	..	7	1,320
Gun vessels - - -	7	76 2	19	2,842	2	302	2	120	30	4,026
Troop ships - - -	..	..	3	520	..	..	..	..	3	520
Tenders - - -	1	90	8	595	1	76	..	..	10	761
Yachts - - -	..	..	5	1,048	..	..	..	..	5	1,048
Tugs - - -	..	..	11	940	..	..	..	..	11	940
Packets - - -	..	..	{ 3	780 }	..	..	3	860	32	5,450
	27	8,198	105	21,802	15	4,944	27	9,736	174	44,680

From this number should perhaps be deducted the following ships returned as building, but not taken in hand.

Gun vessels	..	..	2	120	horse power.
Sloops, 1st rate	..	..	4	1,200	"
Line-of-battle ships	..	..	3	2,036	"
Frigates...	..	..	1	350	"

10 3,706

Leaving the total Steam Navy at 164 ships, with 40,974 horse power.

The total Navy was then in May, 1848,

Sailing vessels	..	..	..	..	305
Steam vessels	..	..	..	..	164

Total 469

Wellington, as well as the Camperdown and Impregnable, 2nd-rates. It is just possible, that none of these vessels may have been fit to go to sea for 4 years, but that does not seem probable.

Again, in the last-mentioned return, we find the 1st-rate Royal Frederic, and the two second-rates Colossus and Mars, mentioned as ready to be launched, and there is no notice taken of them in the return dated 22nd same month. It is possible that these three vessels may have been put in commission during the interval between the 11th and 22nd May, but that, too, appears unlikely.

The whole of the statement of the steam navy is taken from the return in appendix, page 870-874, but here also we have to regret several discrepancies and possible causes of error. The number of horse-power is stated at the top of the returns, as 44,480 instead of 44,680, as it is shown to be by actual addition.

The ten ships not yet taken in hand are included in these returns, and are not included in another list of steam vessels in commission, ordinary, fitting, or building, given at page 866. In the former list, the Arrogant is described as being a steam-frigate, 1st-class, and in the latter as a frigate. In the former, the Antelope, Oberon, and Titan, are included among the gun-vessels, schooners, &c., and in this latter list, they are called *packets*. The Rhadamanthus is styled a 2nd-rate sloop in the former list, and a troop-ship in the latter. The horse-power of the 11 tugs is added up in the

On the 1st of March, 1848, there were on the several stations as follows, (vide *Report*, page xi.)* :—

			Ships.	Men.
East Indies and China	...	...	25	4,573
Pacific	...	...	12	3,495
South East Coast of America	...	...	14	1,936
Cape of Good Hope	...	...	10	1,862
West Coast of Africa	...	...	27	2,785
North America and West Indies	...	...	10	1,717
Mediterranean	...	...	31	8,337
Lakes of Canada	...	...	3	83
Plymouth	...	...	2	788
Portsmouth	...	...	8	1,856
Sheerness	...	...	5	778
Woolwich	...	...	1	26
Ireland and Scotland	...	...	12	544
Squadron of evolution	...	...	7	3,057
Particular service	...	...	9	1,304
Surveying service	...	...	10	837
Packet service	...	...	29	711
Unappropriated and fitting out	...	...	14	3,539
Under orders to be paid off	...	...	3	740
Stationary ships, yachts, &c.	...	...	8	156
			235	89,124

Complement of ships ordered to be paid off ... 5,318

Of this number, on adding up the different items down to *Lakes of Canada*, inclusively, it will be found that at the period above mentioned there were 132 vessels and 24,788 men employed in foreign and colonial service; and it would be exceedingly difficult to assign any good and valid reason for having one-half of this force—nay, it is very questionable whether it might not be dispensed with altogether.

The whole of these vessels, excepting such as are stationed on the Western Coast of Africa, and in part the Mediterranean squadron, are placed, it is said, in the different seas to protect our trade,—but we have yet to know against whom.

Is it, perchance, to protect our merchant ships against the great

last-mentioned list 740, instead of 940; and that of the 32 packets, 9,689, instead of 5,480, which still differs from the result given by the other return, on account of the power of the Advice being given in the one as 100, and in the other 130.

It is to be regretted that discrepancies of this nature, which cannot be mere errors of the press, should be allowed to creep into the returns furnished to the parliamentary committees. Such documents are long, and difficult to search into from the multiplicity of their details, and the task should not be rendered more arduous from a want of clearness and accuracy.

* The number of ships in commission is now much less, but as we must necessarily make frequent reference to the report of the last committee of enquiry on naval expenditure, we prefer taking the number which existed at that time. The result of our argument, in a practical point of view, would be the same, had we taken the force on the different stations as in the navy list of this year.

bugbears of France and the United States, that we have ships of war in the Indian Ocean, the Pacific, and the Atlantic, at the Cape of Good Hope, and the West Indies? If so, why not have a naval force to protect our direct trade *with those countries themselves*? and if *not* so, why have any force at all, unless it be peradventure to protect our trade against the colonists themselves? The real practical benefit resulting to our commerce from these naval stations, has never been shown, or, we might say, attempted to be shown; and the motive which creates and maintains them is based on the same jealous feeling which prompts our Government to keep up a large naval force in the Mediterranean.

If any proof were wanted of this, it might be found in the answers given by the late First Lord of the Admiralty to the Committee—

“Has not the British power disclaimed participating in the blockade?”*
 “Yes, but at the same time the blockade is maintained by another power; and as long as that is the case, the presence of a British force is necessary to prevent abuses which may arise out of the blockade.” (*Question 3357.*)

“Equal to the force that would be necessary for making that blockade.”—“*It should be equal to the force that is present of other powers.*” (*Question 3358.*)

We should really be in a very pitiable state if we were obliged to follow my Lord Auckland's doctrine. When we were belligerents ourselves we should want a force in order to confront the enemy; and when we were at peace, we should want one to look on at the belligerents all over the world. When might the tax-payer hope for relief at this rate?

These naval armaments in the different stations are, then, mere warlike demonstrations, and in reality do no good to trade, nor in general can they do so. But let us, for argument's sake, suppose that they can be of service to commerce, and then see whether they do not cost too much even in this hypothesis.

The Colonial stations are those of the West Indies, North America, the Lakes of Canada, the East Indies, China, and the Cape of Good Hope. The total number of ships employed there at the date above referred to, was 48; and of men, 8,235.

Now, as the vote for naval services for the year 1848 was in round numbers £7,764,000, of which every item except the excess of 1846, the civil pensions, and mail packet service, amounting to £998,000, depends in the long run on the number of ships, and principally of men,† employed, —we may estimate the expense of the naval stations above named at upwards of £1,300,000. Exclusively of this there may be reckoned a sum of £3,000,000 a-year, as the military, civil, and extraordinary expenses, paid out of the Imperial Exchequer—total, about £4,300,000.

According to the statements of exports, as given in the official tables of revenue, population and commerce of the kingdom, the total exports in

* Of Rio de la Plata.

† It might be objected that the half-pay and military pensions do not depend upon the number of men. True, they do not immediately depend upon it, and might not even hereafter, since they are the result of the maintenance of a force much greater even than that of 1848-9. Nevertheless, it is incontestable that the greater the force the greater the number of officers periodically put on half-pay, and these last will always in the long run bear a certain proportion to the number of men afloat.

the year 1846 to the Colonies and countries within the range of the above stations were as follows :—

Cape of Good Hope	...	...	...	480,979
Eastern Coast of Africa	...	...	...	5,041
Ascension and St. Helena	..	...	...	28,309
Madagascar	...	...	...	2,580
Mauritius	...	...	...	310,231
Aden	...	...	...	14,574
East India Company's territories and Ceylon	...	...	...	6,434,456
China	...	...	...	1,791,439
Sumatra, Java, and other Indian Isles	...	...	...	357,918
Philippine Islands	...	...	...	92,806
New South Wales, Vandiemens Land, and Swan River	...	...	...	1,441,640
New Zealand and South Sea Islands	...	...	...	53,724
British North American Colonies	...	...	...	3,308,059
British West Indies	...	...	...	2,505,587
Hayti	...	...	...	136,113
Cuba and Foreign West Indies	...	...	...	1,308,933
Mexico, Texas, New Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador, altogether	£844,292—say half on the	...	...	422,146
Atlantic Coast	...	...	...	18,694,535

If it were necessary for Government to spend £4,300,000, and for the East India Company to spend at least a million more, making altogether £5,300,000 a year, in order to export something less than nineteen millions, the bargain would certainly be a bad one, and it would be much better to give up our trade with the Colonies. On the other hand, since the Colonies yield no direct revenue, and can only be useful to the mother country on the score of trade, we might safely infer, in such an hypothesis, that it would be better to get rid of them altogether.

But the case is infinitely stronger against the partisans of naval stations for the protection of commerce, for the most ardent among them do not pretend that if those stations were broken up, *not an iota* of trade would be carried on with the countries above mentioned; they only maintain that the trade would not be so extensive. The £5,300,000 are not then spent in order to insure the total export of £18,694,535, but only such part of it as would be diverted into other channels if the naval force did not exist. Let us take an extreme case, and say that one half would be diverted, and our exports reduced by nine millions. The £5,300,000 are then expended in order to export £9,000,000; it is to be feared that our merchants and manufacturers are far from realizing upon those exports a profit of £5,300,000, to counterbalance the loss to the public.

Indeed, the whole of the arguments in favor of fostering trade by naval and military forces, rest on as hollow grounds as those in favor of protecting it by high discriminating duties. Produce cheaper than other countries and your trade will increase without any display of force;

produce dearer on the other hand, and no squadron will enable you to keep up a large commercial intercourse.

There is one trade, a most horrible but a most lucrative one, which flourishes, not *by means* of squadrons, but *in spite* of squadrons. It is hardly necessary to say that the slave trade is here alluded to. If, then, a profitable branch of commerce cannot be *put down* by a naval force in one part of the world, why should we suppose that it cannot be *maintained* in another part without the aid of a naval force? and if instead of being a profitable trade it is a losing one, how can we expect or wish to keep it up by any display of force whatever?

Now, when our adversaries find themselves placed on the horns of a dilemma in this manner, they turn round and say, "What is the use of your theoretical reasoning, when we can show you petitions from merchants soliciting the establishment of a naval force on such and such coasts?"

Why truly, if a merchant in some inhospitable country, like Japan or Morocco, finds that by reason of the want of personal security, he cannot carry on his trade without protection, he would not scruple to ask for a fleet and an army, but if he were asked to pay the expense of such forces, he would probably demur.

Between avenging insults when they occur and keeping up trade in a barbarous and hostile country by means of a permanent force, costing ten times what that trade is worth, there is a wide difference: we keep no squadron in the Baltic, and yet we should be as prompt to vindicate the honor of our flag and avenge any injury to our countrymen in St. Petersburg and Stockholm, as at Mogadore and Tangiers, but we very properly wait till the *dignus vindice nodus* occurs.

When our merchants settle in countries where foreigners are not secure from personal violence, it is for them to weigh the advantages and the inconveniences. It is too much to suppose that the country at large should support a heavy charge in order that a handful of men may make a large profit.

Let us now take the other stations.

In the Pacific we had, in March 1848, twelve ships and 3,495 men, costing upwards of half a million. The exports to the countries within range of the squadron were in 1846:—

Foreign settlements on the North West Coast of						£
America	...	...	...	...	...	9,438
Chili	...	...	...	...	...	959,322
Peru	...	...	...	...	...	820,535
Falkland Islands	...	...	...	...	...	3,117
Bolivia	...	...	...	...	...	4,493
New Granada, Venezuela, Equador, Mexico and						
Texas \$844,292, say a moiety on the Pacific						
Coast	...	...	...	...	...	422,146
						£2,219,051

That is half a million of money to prevent a trade of £2,219,051 from falling off.

On the south-east coast of America the principal use of the fleet has

been to make mock blockades and vain attempts to bully the President of the Argentine Republic. The Americans have spoken out with infinitely greater effect in the neighbouring country of Brazil, although Lord Auckland informs us that they keep no force at Rio. (*Vide Answer to Question 3369*).

At present peace appears to have been concluded with the semi-barbarous chief, but had our absurd observation of the French blockade (for that is all that remained of our warlike operations in the Plate River for a long period) been given up, this station might long ago have been altogether dispensed with.

The squadron on the West Coast of Africa involves more than a question of mere economy. Did we conceive that the presence of that squadron was an effectual restraint on the slave trade, and likely to attain the end for which it was sent on that cruise, we should not advocate its removal, though, in weighing the advantages to humanity in general, the mortality among our crews on those lethal coasts deserves to be taken more into consideration than it really is, as a set-off against the blessing conferred on the negroes by rescuing them from slavery.

But as the soundest arguments seemed to favour the opinion, now become very widely spread, that the squadron does not on the whole alleviate the sufferings of the Africans, it is submitted that the sooner the ships are paid off the better.

We come now to the fleet in the Mediterranean, and here it will again be necessary to quote Lord Auckland.

"Is your Lordship aware what force is maintained by the Americans within the Straits of Gibraltar?"—"No, I am not; it varies very much, but I think it is very seldom a large body: they have *one or two* ships of war." (*Question 3490*).

His Lordship might have added, that in case of need it would require at least six weeks more notice to bring a reinforcement from the American waters than to bring one from the channel;—but to proceed with our quotations.

"Are you aware that their trade is very considerable, and that there are a large number of American merchant ships in the Mediterranean?"—"I believe they have a large number." (*Question 3491*).

"Perhaps half as many as our own?"—"Yes, I believe they have." (*Question 3492*).

"If they do not maintain a large naval force for their protection, what occasion is there for us to keep so large a force for the protection of the British trade?"—"I believe the naval force of this country has generally been maintained in relation to what has been maintained by the other countries of Europe." (*Question 3493*).

So that here we see the real end and aim of these large armaments, for a certain class of politicians at least. It is not, as alleged, to protect our trade, but to keep pace in the race of folly and extravagance with other nations. It is that we may be enabled to bring internecine war and savage disorder into Syria, and to give encouragement to Italian insurgents and then leave them in the lurch. Surely to attain such ends, an expense of upwards of a million a year to keep up a squadron of thirty vessels was not too much.

Of the fleet in the Tagus, called the squadron of evolution, the same may be said as of that in the Mediterranean. It is a fleet destined only for political purposes, and, be it said to the shame of the Government, has been also employed to give encouragement to insurgents, and then assist in their destruction.

While discussing this part of the question it may not be uninteresting to make a comparison of the naval force, and of the commerce of the United States with our own.

Their fleet in August, 1847, as set down in the Boston Almanac, consisted of eighty-four vessels of war, which if designated according to the classification adopted by our Admiralty, would stand thus, and were distributed in the following manner.

Denomination.	Ordinary.		Survey and Packets.	Home Squadron.		Pacific.		Foreign Stations.		On the Stocks.		Totals.	
	Ships.	Guns.		Ships.	Guns.	Ships.	Guns.	Ships.	Guns.	Ships.	Guns.	Ships.	Guns.
Ships of the line													
1st class -	1	120	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	120
3rd " -	3	222	..	..	..	2	148	..	..	5	370	10	740
5th " -	5	204	..	1	44	2	88	3	132	3	132	14	600
Sloops -	9	174	..	5	96	6	112	2	36	..	..	22	418
Gun brigs -	..	..	..	1	10	..	..	4	40	..	..	5	50
Schooners, bomb vessels, and store ships -	1	..	3	12	13	3	22	..	..	..	..	19	35
	19	720	3	19	163	13	370	9	208	8	502	71	1963
Steam vessels -	6	9	..	5	16	..	..	2	9	..	..	13	34
Totals -	25	729	3	24	179	13	370	11	217	8	502	84	1997

On the scale adopted by the Admiralty in 1847, the complement required to man this number of ships, reckoning in the receiving vessels and those in ordinary, would be about 12,800 men, and the expense nearly £2,080,000 ; but as this is much above the sum expended by the Americans in spite of their high rate of wages, the reason of the difference must be sought for in the circumstance that a smaller sum is spent in dock-yards, new works, and pensions ; and that the ships lying in their home harbours are not manned ; or that their complements are not complete, or that when complete they are not so great as in the English navy.

In order to make the comparison with our own country—

We have sailing vessels as above (page 29) ...	305
Deduct packets ...	11
Remain sailing vessels ...	294
Steamers, line-of-battle and frigates ...	10
Gun vessels ...	30
	40

Total ... 334, carrying at least

10,000 guns.

Independently of this, we have as may be seen above, seventy-three steam-frigates and sloops available if required for war purposes.

The comparative account for 1848 will then stand thus :—

	Vessels available for war purposes.	Guns.	No. of men.	Comparative expense in English sterling money.	Real Expenditure.
England	407	10,000	4,300	£7,000,000	£7,000,000
United States	84	1,997	12,800	2,080,000	1,800,000

Now, in 1846, the trade of the two countries, as shown by the exports and tonnage employed, was as follows :—

	Exports of produce of the Country.	Naval Expendi- ture.	Per cent. on Exports.	Tonnage.	Expense. per ton.
Great Britain & Ireland	£58,000,000	7,000,000	12.07	4,300,000	£1 12 7
United States	- 21,000,000	1,800,000	8.57	2,200,000	0 16 4

According to the pro rata of the *amount of exports* we ought not to spend five millions on the navy ; but this even would be over-rated, as it is sufficiently evident, that if any force were required to protect a trade, it would not rise in proportion as the trade was increased. If two ships, for example, could protect a trade of five millions, it would not require four to protect that same trade become double.

According to the pro rata of *tonnage*, we ought not to exceed £3,600,000.

One thing may be admitted, that any maritime nation may keep a small force in each sea, if not for the purposes of vindicating the honour of its countrymen, for the sake at least of having the means of communicating with any part of the world on a sudden emergency. What that amount of force should be is rather a speculative question ; but in order to throw all the weight possible into the scale of our opponents, we would say two ships, whether sailing or steamers, manned by 400 men.

The squadron of the United States in the Pacific is principally a home squadron ; and at the period of which we have been treating, it was particularly large on account of the Mexican war. We may then safely consider that seven ships and 1,900 men were as completely disconnected with the protection of trade, or with any foreign matters except those of Mexico, as our own vessels at Portsmouth or Chatham.

Making, therefore, allowance for the minimum force to be kept up both by the English and American navies, of two ships and 400 men in each sea, the following table will exhibit pretty nearly the amount of expense incurred for the force kept over and above this minimum ; the which force is professed to be kept up for the protection of trade,—excluding, of course, that with the European states, which it is admitted requires no protection.*

* The results at the present moment would be somewhat less unfavourable than those in the table, but would still tell largely against our own country.

Names of Places within the Range of Naval Stations.	ENGLAND.				UNITED STATES.							
	Value of Exports.		Naval Force.		Cost in round Numbers.	Per Cent- age on Exports.	Value of Exports.		Naval Force.		Cost in round numbers.	Per Centage.
	Per Country.	Per Station Collectively.	Ships.	Men.			Per Country.	Per Station Collectively.	Ships.	Men.		
East India and China Station. Comprising Aden -	£14,574						£56,375					
" East Indies and Ceylon -	6,434,466						246,466					
" China -	1,791,489						8,479					
" Sumatra, Java, &c. -	357,918						21,092					
" Philippines -	32,806						10,163					
" New South Wales -	1,441,640											
" New Zealand -	53,724											
" North America and West Indies. Comprising British American Colonies -	3,308,059						1,288,889					
" British West Indies -	2,505,587						1,023,976					
" Hayti -	136,113						232,086					
" Cuba and Foreign West Indies -	1,308,933						1,562,917					
" Half of Mexico, Texas, Grenada, &c. Cape of Good Hope. Comprising Cape of Good Hope -	422,146						186,197					
" Eastern Coast of Africa -	480,979						4,940					
" Ascension Island and St. Helena -	5,041						4,167					
" Madagascar -	28,309						8,045					
" Mauritius -	310,231											
" Pacific. Comprising North West Coast of America -	9,438						186,197					
" Half of Mexico, Texas, Grenada, &c. Bolivia -	422,146						10,810					
" Chili -	4,458						320,663					
" Peru -	959,322						58,063					
" Falkland Isles -	820,595											
" Eastern Coast of South America. Comprising Oriental Republic -	3,117											
" Brazil -	154,479						54,644					
" Buenos Ayres -	2,749,338						572,752					
" West of Africa. Comprising Azores -	34,002						30,689					
" Cape Verd -	57,146						880					
" Madeira -	2,503						6,478					
" Canaries -	29,358						12,696					
" Western Coast of Africa Mediterranean. Comprising Gibraltar -	49,816						2,723					
" Malta -	421,620						111,121					
" Ionian Islands -	605,693						96,503					
" Syria -	255,023						4,948					
" Egypt -	171,731											
" Tripoli, Barbary, and Morocco -	281,618						26,291					
" "	495,674											
" "	48,116						1,249					
	96,865,715	111	21,105	3,280,000	12½		6,120,424	9	1180	185,000	3	

Were a similar calculation made upon the exports of 1847, it would show results still more favourable to the Americans, since their exports for that year exceeded those for 1846 by a large amount ; but taking the above figures as a basis, it will be seen that we are paying on an average $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the value of our exports of native produce or products for the protection of trade, against 3 paid by the Americans, or four times as much. It may be admitted that the state of things is not quite so bad at the present day as it was a year ago, when the committee published its report, inasmuch as the squadrons in the different seas have been somewhat diminished ; still the above result would not be materially altered, and it would be found that on a larger absolute value of exports, we are paying a very much higher per centage for the protection of trade, than the Americans on a smaller absolute value, whereas the reverse should be the case, if the principles which guided both parties were the same.

Reverting, therefore, to our principle that there is no occasion to protect a trade which pays, that a trade which requires protection had better, as a general rule, be abandoned ; and finally, that with the exception of countries in a semi-barbarous state, there are no enemies to protect it against. Reverting to these principles which are, it is believed, pretty unanswerable, and relying upon the example afforded us by the United States, we would venture to submit that the naval force in commission might be disposed nearly in the following manner, viz. :—

	Ships.	Men.
East India Squadron—China	6	1,200
„ Indian Archipelago	2	500
„ Australia	2	500
	10	2,200
North America and West Indies	4	800
Cape of Good Hope	2	300
Pacific	2	650
Eastern Coast of South America	2	500
Western Coast of Africa	3	600
Mediterranean—2 first or second rate line-of-battle ships, } 2 large steamers, and one 4th rate }	5	2,570
Channel—13 line-of-battle ships, 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th } rates, with the complements of 1837—say, 8,400 men }	30	10,890
4 Sloops	600	„
3 Large Steamers	750	„
10 Smaller ones	1,100	„
Packets	29	700
Surveying service	7	600
Total	94	19,810*

* As the ships proposed to be put in commission are reckoned with their complements complete, no reserve is, or need be made for marines on shore. But as ships in time of peace do not usually have their complement of marines *on board*, it is probable that even under this arrangement there would be a considerable number on shore, which in our estimate we have taken as though on board.

Say then, with reliefs, 20,500 to 21,000 men, which number most probably might be reduced by some modifications in the treaty with China, obliging us to keep up so large a force there.

Without pretending to fix the exact proportion of sailing and steam vessels, we presume that out of the ninety-four ships, if stationed in the way recommended, it would be advisable that about sixty-four should be steamers, with eleven to twelve thousand horse power.

The next measure of reform which is imperiously called for, is a reduction of the number of officers as compared with the total force, which was then 43,000.

Besides the retired officers, we had in 1848 :—

Admirals	...	...	150*	or	3.49 to 1,000 men.
Captains	...	...	546	„	12.70 „
Commanders	...	...	879	„	20.44 „
Lieutenants	...	...	2,339	„	54.39 „
Total Officers			3,914		9,102

The American navy list for 1847, shows :—

Commanders of squadron, 5 ; of navy yards, 9 ; total	14
Captains	68
Commanders	97

Taking their naval force only at 10,000 men for that year, it may be seen at a glance how much smaller is the proportion of officers, yet surely none will tax the American navy with inefficiency,

It is not even pretended that this enormous number of officers is in the slightest degree necessary, for it appears from the estimates for 1848, that out of more than 500 captains, upwards of 450 were on half-pay, and only 67 in active service ; of the commanders, 680 were on half-pay, and 96 only on full pay ; and of the former class no less than 400 were altogether unfit for service !†

The great evil is, that no limit is set to the number of officers. Lord Auckland, in his evidence, says, “I am not aware of any limit, and I think in endeavouring to reduce to rule and method, which I am very anxious to do, the question of entry into the navy and promotion, it is very desirable, as a first step in the ladder, to determine what entries into the navy shall take place in the course of each year ; because I find, upon looking back, that the entries have been exceedingly irregular. In one year not above 47 naval cadets were entered, and in other years 200 and 300. Upon the average, probably a hundred entries of cadets a year would give a sufficient number of officers to maintain the lieutenants’ list in some degree of vigour. I think it can only be decided by a watchful experience, and a careful measure of the wants of the navy.” (*Answer to Question 4084.*)

* See Report lxxxiv.

† *Vide* evidence of Lord Auckland. Questions 4119 to 4121.

And again, "Your Lordship is aware that the army and artillery have ascertained establishments voted annually, beyond which the commander-in-chief can make no additions; the question is, whether there is any such establishment fixed in the navy, by way of limit to the number of captains, lieutenants, and other officers?"—"No; there has never been any such rule, nor any such limits, though the estimates are framed with regard to the amount of pay and half-pay." (*Question 4085.*)

Not only is this want of an establishment an occasion of additional expense to the public, but it materially injures the efficiency of the service, and here it will be useful to refer once more to Lord Auckland's evidence.

"Are the committee to understand that the 452 captains, stated to be in the active list, are all fit for service?"—"It is impossible to say that they are." (*Question 4098.*)

"Do you consider that you could, agreeably to the present order, promote those captains to be admirals, though they are not fit to go to sea?"—"By the present custom of the navy, promotion becomes a right; it is a succession; it is succession by seniority, not by selection." (*Question 4099.*)

"Do you consider that promotion by right, though the parties are unfit for service, ought to be continued?"—"If you limit the officers' list only to officers fit for service it ought not, but if you allow promotion to be given not only with the object of future service, but also with the object of rewarding, and giving eminence and retirement to officers who have been thirty or forty years upon the navy list, our rule of succession, I think, is that which should be maintained." (*Question 4100.*)

Surely it would be infinitely better to pension off the whole, or nearly the whole, of the half-pay officers, and reduce the permanent establishment to such a number of officers as would be required, not for the force above recommended, but for the present one, say 25 admirals, 75 captains, 120 commanders, 500 lieutenants. By this means a promotion might be made for each vacancy, and the condition of the efficient service rendered infinitely better. An officer would then see a rational hope of reaping the reward of good conduct by a speedy advancement. The half-pay officers unfit for service would also have but little to complain of; as at their great age, and with the rule of one promotion to three vacancies, the individual chance of each is, even under the existing system, exceedingly small; and as a compensation for the loss of that chance there might be a sort of promotion in the retired list, altogether independent of that in the efficient service, or a slight increase of pension might be allowed.

Would it not be a good regulation for the future, that officers should be put on the retired list after a certain number of years, with pensions varying according to the number of years spent in the active service?

NEW WORKS.

As to the new works so injudiciously conceived and so improvidently executed, there is only a choice of evils left,—the one of spending more money, and the other of leaving constructions most of them much

advanced, and some nearly finished, to decay and perish, for want of a further sum to complete them. Of the two evils the latter seems to be the greatest ; and in that view of the case it would be more reasonable to put a finishing stroke to several of the new buildings which it would have been far better never to have begun. Of course this should not extend to providing them with machinery, still less with mechanical implements.

The committee of last year has expressed the same opinion on this subject ; and there seems now to be little that imperiously requires to be completed but Keyham, for which £592,000 appear still necessary, according to the estimates 1849-50 ; but as this includes more than the mere basins and buildings, the amount absolutely indispensable for that purpose would be less. At all events, a vote of £200,000 a year during three years would be sufficient, and then an annual sum of £100,000, or less, would meet the requirements of this branch of the naval service, as Mr. Ward himself allows, (*vide* Answer to Question 1745). But since the public service, as we shall endeavour to show, would be rather benefited than injured by relieving the State from the charge of keeping up these establishments, the vote would really become a nominal one, which might be covered by half this sum.

Under any circumstances it is to be hoped that no parliament will ever sanction the most insignificant new works recommended by so suspicious an authority as the Admiralty. Strange as it may appear that men whose professional habits ought peculiarly to fit them for the task, should commit blunders of which the rudest novice would be ashamed ; it is nevertheless true and undeniable ; neither can it be contested, that a committee of civilians would have constructed dockyards and basins, and built ships much better than the Lords of the Admiralty—worse at least they could not have done.

It is not our intention here to point out the innumerable technical absurdities which have been committed by the Board in this part of its duties. Those who wish to be initiated in these mysteries would do well to study the debate in the House of Commons, of the 1st May last : they will there find, *inter alia*, that the largest of the new works now in progress, that of Keyham, whose total cost will much exceed a million, has been so planned by these naval lords, that ships will not be able to enter the basins, when completed, without the greatest difficulty, since they have been commenced on the lee-shore instead of the weather-shore, and will have so little depth of water that large steamers will only be able to enter at spring tides ; and that, moreover, the entrance being at right angles to the current of the stream, vessels will be exposed to considerable damage while going in.

We ask whether the most ignorant civilian could have committed more egregious blunders ? The proverb says, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, but with respect to the Lords of the Admiralty, we must extend it still farther, and say, *Ne sutor et in crepidâ*.

REPAIRS AND SHIP-BUILDING.

The question of repairs and ship-building comes next in order, but as this is a very difficult and complicated subject, it will be necessary, before

exposing our views, to enter rather minutely into the details as set forth in the papers laid before the Committee.

Upon examination of a return of ships launched since 1827, in the appendix, page 855 to 859, it will be found that the average cost of the hull of different denominations of vessels, with all the internal fittings, is as follows :—

		Tons.		Cost per ton.		Total hull, in round numbers.
Ships of the line	1st rate	2,700	...	£33	...	90,000
"	2nd ...	2,500	...	33	...	83,000
"	3rd ...	2,200	...	30	...	66,000
"	4th ...	1,800	...	28	...	50,000
"	5th ...	1,300	...	26	...	34,000
"	6th ...	850	...	26	...	22,000
Sloops	average size ...	450	...	26	...	12,000
Cutters	... ..	120	...	26	...	3,500
Brigs	... ..	250	...	25	...	6,500
Packets	... ..	250	...	28	...	7,000
Schooners	... ..	110	...	26	...	3,000
Yachts	... ..	150	...	30	...	4,500

The same statement compared with the list of steamers in appendix, page 866 and 867, containing the tonnages and horse power of each steam vessel in the navy, and with another return, page 911, containing the cost of machinery for twenty-five steamers building, gives the following approximate results for the steam navy.

		Tons.		Cost per Ton.		Total cost of hull.		Horse power.		Cost of machines.
Line-of-battle	...	1,750	...	£30	...	52,500	...	450	...	£28,000
Frigates	...	1,600	...	28	...	45,000	...	350	...	20,000
Steam frigates, 1st class	...	1,700	...	28	...	47,500	...	600	...	42,000
"	2nd ...	1,300	...	26	...	34,000	...	480	...	29,000
Sloops	1st ...	1,100	...	25	...	27,500	...	350	...	20,000
"	2nd ...	840	...	24	...	20,000	...	270	...	14,000
"	3rd ...	770	...	20	...	15,500	...	180	...	10,000
Gun vessels	...	400	...	25	...	10,000	...	140	...	8,000
Troop ships	...	640	...	24	...	15,500	...	200	...	11,000
Tenders	...	250	...	23	...	6,000	...	100	...	6,000
Yachts	...	500	...	30	...	15,000	...	210	...	12,000
Tugs	...	250	...	20	...	5,000	...	70	...	4,000
Packets	...	340	...	26	...	9,000	...	200	...	11,000

It is to be observed that the above tables are not given as showing what the cost of ships *ought* to be, but as what it *does* appear to have been on a rough average of the prices given in the several statements referred to.

Now, in order to see first what is the expense which ought to have been incurred by the fleet as it stood during the year 1847, we must refer to the statement of ships launched in that year, which were

	Tons.	Begun.	Launched.	Expense per ton.
				£ s. d.
1 Line-of-battle, 2nd class	2589	July, 1840	29th July, 1847	22 16 7
1 Ditto ditto 5th ..	1633	Dec., 1835	15th April, ..	22 1 1
1 Corvette	602	Oct., 1845	30th March, ..	25 12 3
6 Brigs	481	Feb., 1838	31st do. ..	21 1 11
	552	Oct., 1846	8th October, ..	17 14 0
	549	do. do.	8th September, ..	17 13 10
	484	Nov., 1846	27th do. ..	20 8 0
	482	do. do.	27th do. ..	19 6 8
	329	May, 1846	12th June, ..	21 18 10
1 Brigantine	319	April, 1846	17th March, ..	22 17 4
2 Steam vessels	1497	Sept., 1845	5th January, ..	19 6 2
	1547	April, 1845	25th September..	22 2 11

Supposing that the work was done in a uniform manner, and consequently that it was always as the time employed, the total cost would be, to that incurred in 1847, in the ratio of the entire time employed in building to that part of it which fell in 1847, and the result would be as shown in the following table.

	Total cost in round numbers.	Length of time employed in building in nearest number of months.	Nearest number of months employed in 1847.	Proportion done in 1847, in round numbers.
1st ship	£59,000	85	7	£4,860
2nd	36,000	137	3½	920
3rd	15,400	18	3	2,570
4th	10,100	110	3	280
5th	9,800	12	9¼	7,550
6th	9,700	11	8¼	7,270
7th	9,900	11	9	8,100
8th	9,800	11	9	7,610
9th	7,200	13	5½	3,050
10th	7,300	12	2½	1,520
	£173,700			£43,730
11th	29,000	16	1½	300
12th	34,300	30	8½	10,100
Total	£237,000			£54,130

There were launched in 1848 to the time when the statement was made up,

	Tons.	Cost per Ton.	Total cost.	Begun.	Launched.
Line of battle,					
4th rate...	1,987 ...	£19 8 5 ...	£38,600 ...	Feb. 1845	... 8th Mar. 1848.
Steam-vessel	516 ...	19 17 9 ...	10,300 ...	Aug. 1847	... 21st " "
	352 ...	21 7 8 ...	7,500 ...	8th June, 1847	... 7th Feb. "

£56,400

And supposing, as before, the work done in a uniform way, the result would be thus :—

		Length of time building in nearest number of months.	Nearest number of months in 1847.		Pro-rata done in 1847.
1st ship	...	37	12	...	£12,520
2nd "	...	9	5	...	5,720
3rd "	...	8	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	...	6,330
Total in 1847					£24,570

The ships constructed by private contract which were launched in 1847, appear according to another statement, page 1040. They are as follows :—

	Dates of Contracts.	When launched.	Contract prices.	Months in hand.	Months in 1847.	Pro-rata of work done. in 1847.
Corvette	.. 15th Dec. 1845	.. 18th Mar. 1847	.. £12,618	.. 15	.. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. £2,100
Steam-vessel	.. 3rd Dec. 1846	.. 13th Oct. "	.. 14,389	.. 10	.. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. 13,670
Ditto	.. 9th Nov. 1846	.. 3rd July "	.. 15,226	.. 8	.. 6	.. 11,420
Ditto	.. 19th Nov. 1845	.. 2nd Jan. "	.. 14,249	.. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. nil	.. nil
Ditto	.. 8th Nov. 1846	.. 5th July "	.. 14,000	.. 8	.. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. 10,790
Total in 1847					..	.. £27,980

And there were launched in 1848,

	Dates of Contracts.	When launched.	Contract prices.	Months in hand.	Months in 1847.	Pro-rata of work done. in 1847.
Steam-vessels	.. 9th Nov. 1846	.. 22nd Jan. 1848	.. £16,354	.. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. 12	.. £13,530
	.. 16th Sep. 1847	.. 26th Feb. 1848	.. 4,200	.. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	.. 2,760
Total in 1847					..	.. £16,290

There appears to have been in construction in the beginning of 1848, First, according to a statement in page 877, further explained by another in page 911 of the appendix, there were on the stocks on the 1st January, 1848, the following steamers.

	Tons.	Fractional parts built on 12th May, 1848—date of state- ment, page 911.	Pro rata of tons completed at same date.
Arrogant	1,862	7	1,630
Simoom	1,980	8	1,240
Vulcan	1,747	7	1,530
Greenock	1,413	6	1,060
Leopard	1,413	6	80
Megæra	1,391	1	1,220
Basilisk	1,001	8	750
Magicienne	1,255	8	470
Tiger	1,221	3	230
Desperate	992	1	680
Buzzard	978	1	370
Archer	970	8	360
Wasp	970	8	240
Plumper	484	8	420
Total			*10,280

* Two other steamers, the *Reynard* and the *Vivid*, appeared in the statement above quoted, as having been on the stocks the 1st January, 1848, but as they were

Now as some of these steamers had only a very small part finished even in May, 1848, and can scarcely have been begun in 1847, it is probable that by taking half the number of tons completed as being the work of 1847 we should not underrate it. This moiety, or 5,140 tons, would, at £25 a ton, represent in round numbers £128,500.

The sailing-vessels on the stocks at the same time are given in a return in the appendix, page 918, and were as follows:—

Denominations.			At Sheerness.	Woolwich.	Portsmouth.	Pembroke.	Chatham.	Devonport.	Deptford.	Totals.
Line-of-battle, 1st rate	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	3
„ 2nd „	...	...	...	...	1	2	3	3	...	9
„ 4th „	...	...	...	1	...	3	...	1	1	6
„ 6th „	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2
Brigs	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Totals	...	...	1	2	2	6	4	5	1	21

The other vessels in this return are steamers, and are included in the returns of steam-ships, which have been already analyzed.

With respect to the sailing-vessels, the date of their being put on the stocks is not inserted in the return, consequently we must here also have recourse to an approximation.

Referring to the return of vessels launched since 1828 (page 855 to 859), it appears that the shortest time in which the above descriptions of vessels have been constructed, is

For ... 1st rates 6 years, so that one year's work would not be more than	...	...	...	...	...	$\frac{1}{6}$
The mean of 2nd rates 4	„	„	„	„	„	$\frac{1}{4}$
„ 4th „ 3	„	„	„	„	„	$\frac{1}{3}$
„ 6th „ 2	„	„	„	„	„	$\frac{1}{2}$
Brigs under a year.						

But as, with the exception of the 1st rates, which were pretty far advanced at the date of the return, some ships of each classification were not completed to the extent of the above fractions, it is plain that a year's work had not been done upon the whole of them, and it will be necessary to make a separate calculation for each.

1st rates—Average cost as per table page 42, £90,000

Value of a year's work ($\frac{1}{6}$) ... £15,000,

making for the three on the stocks,

the work done in 1847 £45,000

launched prior to 31st May, and appear on the return of that day as among the steamers launched, they are already comprised in the calculation under that head. It contains also the *Llewellyn*, which was built in a private yard: this too was launched before May, 1848, and is one of the two reckoned above.

2nd rates—One at Woolwich, one at Portsmouth, one at
Pembroke, one at Chatham—together four,
only completed to the extent of ... 1-4th
From which, if we deduct the value of four
months' work in 1848, or ... 1-12th

The difference ... 1-6th
is the work done in 1847.

Cost of this $\frac{1}{6}$ at the assumed cost in table, page 42, of
£83,000 is £13,800.

Making for the four in this state of forwardness ... £55,200

Cost of a year's work for the five remaining ones,
being for each $\frac{1}{4}$ of £83,000, or £20,750, in
round numbers ... 103,800

Total cost of 2nd rates ... £159,000

4th rates—One at Pembroke, advanced only $\frac{1}{2}$, cannot be
taken into account.

One advanced to the extent of ... 1-4th
Deduct four months' work, 1848, or ... 1-9th

The difference ... 5-36ths
is the work done in 1847.

5-36ths of £50,000, assumed cost of 4th rates as per
table, page 42 ... £6,900

Cost of a year's work for the four remaining ones,
being for each $\frac{1}{3}$ of £50,000, or £16,700 ... 66,800

Total cost of 4th rates ... £73,700

6th rates—One at Devonport, only advanced to the
extent of ... 1-4th
Deduct four months' work in 1848, or ... 1-6th

The difference ... 1-12th
is the work done in 1847.

1-12th of £22,000, assumed cost of 6th rates, as per
table, page 42 ... £1,800

And for the remaining one a year's work, or $\frac{1}{2}$ of
£22,000 ... 11,000

Total cost of 6th rates ... £12,800

Brigs—One forwarded to the extent of 6-8ths, of which
say one moiety done in 1847, or 3-8ths,
making a cost of about ... £3,600
Recapitulating these figures we shall have—

Cost of 1st rates in construction	...	£45,000
" 2nd "	...	159,000
" 4th "	...	73,700
" 6th "	...	12,800
" Brigs	...	3,600

Total that should have been expended in
 1847 upon ships on the stocks in } £294,100
 May, 1848

Taking all these figures together, we shall have for cost of ship-building in 1847, for the hulls only, the following :—

Denominations.	Launched in 1847.						Launched in 1848.						Grand Totals.	
	Government Dock-yards.		Private yards.		Totals.		Government yards.		Private yards.		Totals.			
	No.	Cost of part built in 1847.	No.	Cost.	No.	Cost in 1847.	No.	Cost in 1847.	No.	Cost in 1847.	No.	Cost in 1847.	No.	Cost incurred in 1847.
Sailing-vessels ..	10	43,730	1	2,100	11	45,830	1	12,520	..	..	1	12,520	12	58,350
Steamers	2	10,400	4	20,880	6	46,280	2	12,050	2	16,290	4	28,340	10	74,620
	12	54,130	5	37,980	17	92,110	3	24,570	2	16,290	5	40,860	22	132,970

And for the ships on the stocks :—

Fifteen steamers in progress in government yards
 and private yards, as shown page 45 £128,500

Twenty-one sailing-vessels building in government
 dockyards 294,100

Total £422,600

General recapitulation :—

Cost of vessels launched £132,970

Ditto of vessels on the stocks 422,600

Total cost of hulls £555,570

Independently of this cost, however, we may assume that the vessels launched in 1847 were provided with rigging and stores, and the steamers with engines.

Now, according to the different returns scattered through the appendix, it appears that the highest cost of masts, yards, rigging and stores, is one-third of the hull, and for steamers a quarter.

Taking this basis then, we may say that since the sailing-vessels launched from government yards in 1847, cost as shewn in the above table, page 43 £173,700

And those launched from private yards 12,618
 as per table, page 44.

Making a total of £186,318

The cost of rigging, masts, yards, and stores would be at a maximum	...	...	...	...	...	...	£62,100
Steamers launched in 1847 from government yards cost, as per table, page 43	...	...	...	...	...	...	£63,300
From private yards £57,864, making a total of £121,164, and the cost of rigging, &c., would be at a maximum	...	...	...	...	...	...	£30,500
Summary cost of masts, yards, rigging and stores for ships launched in 1847 :—							
Sailing-vessels	...	...	...	...	...	...	£62,100
Steamers	...	...	...	...	...	...	30,500
Total							£92,600

COST OF ENGINES FOR STEAMERS LAUNCHED IN 1847.

		Horse power.	Probable cost of Engines.
From government dockyards—	Termagant	... 620	£43,000
"	Dauntless	... 580	41,000
From private yards	Oberon	... 260	13,000
"	Caradoc	... 350	20,000
"	St. Columba	... 350	20,000
"	Banshee	... 350	20,000
Total cost of Engines			£157,000

GENERAL SUMMARY OF COST OF SHIP-BUILDING.

Total cost of hulls, as shewn	page 47	...	...	£555,570
Rigging, masts, yards, and stores as above		...	...	92,600
Marine engines	...	...	...	157,000
Total				£805,170

REPAIRS.

According to an estimate made by the Committee (*see Report*, p. xxiii.) the wear and tear of the hull of a vessel is equal to 1-15th, and that of the masts, yards, rigging and stores 1-5th. Now assuming as above, that these last cost a third of the hull for sailing-vessels, and a *fourth* for steamers, their wear and tear would be a third of a fifth (or 1-15th) of the value of the hull for the former description of vessels, and a fourth of a fifth or 1-20th of the same value for the latter. So that, adding to these two fractions respectively, the 1-15th deterioration of the hull itself, we shall have for the cost of repairs, both of hull and of masts, yards, rigging and stores,

For sailing vessels, 2-15th.

For steamers 1-15th and 1-20th, or 7-60th.

To arrive at our approximation, we must then value the whole naval armament in commission, which taking for basis the numbers in March,

1848, and the valuations in page 42 for sailing vessels, and for steamers, would be as follows :—

SAILING-VESSELS.

Line-of-battle, 1st rate	...	5	at	£90,000	£450,000
" 2nd	...	11	"	83,000	913,000
" 3rd	...	1	"	66,000	66,000
" 4th	...	7	"	50,000	350,000
" 5th	...	10	"	34,000	340,000
" 6th	...	15	"	22,000	330,000
Sloops and Brigs	...	49	"	12,000	588,000
Packets	...	9	"	7,000	63,000
Surveying Vessels, &c.	...	20	"	7,000	140,000
Cutters, Schooners, &c.	...	24	"	3,500	84,000
Total in commission	...	151	Total value of hulls,	£3,324,000,	
of which 2-15th is £443,200.					

STEAMERS.

Line-of-battle	...	...	1	at	£52,500	£52,500	
Frigate	...	...	1	„	45,000	45,000	
Steam Frigate, 1st class,			2	„	47,500	95,000	
„ 2nd		...	7	„	34,000	238,000	
Sloops	...	1st	...	11	„	27,500	302,500
„	...	2nd	...	3	„	20,000	60,000
„	...	3rd	...	5	„	15,500	77,500
Gun vessels	...		19	„	10,000	190,000	
Troop ships	...		3	„	15,500	46,500	
Tenders	...		8	„	6,000	48,000	
Yachts	...		5	„	15,000	75,000	
Tugs	...		11	„	5,000	55,000	
Packets	...		29	„	9,000	261,000	

Total in commission, 105 Total value of hulls £1,546,000,
of which 7-60th is in round numbers, £180,400.

To this must be added the cost of repairing the 21,802 horse power, of which the steam navy in commission was composed, as shown above, and reckoning the repair at the maximum rate of £7 per horse-power, the total cost would be £152,614.

SUMMARY OF COST OF REPAIRING NAVAL ARMAMENT IN COMMISSION.

Repairs of hulls, masts, yards, rigging, and stores of sailing vessels, as above	...	...	...	...	£443,200
The like	"	"	"	of steam vessels	180,400
					623,600
Repairs of engines	...	...	...	...	152,600
Total	...	...	...	...	<u>£776,200</u>

We have now only the vessels in ordinary to deal with.

According to the annual survey made from June to September 1847, one hundred and fifty-four sailing vessels in ordinary would have re-

quired £328,000 to put them in a complete state of repair, and five steamers required no outlay at all.

It would be an error, however, to suppose that, because £328,000 were needed to put the 154 ships in complete repair, that sum was *spent* or even that it was necessary so to do. To nearly all of those marked as wanting repair, the observation is appended, "*Similar to last survey*," which proves both that no repairs were effected, and that the want of them had not further injured the vessels so noted. The mere deterioration, indeed, of a well-built vessel in a dock-yard, from the action of the elements, and from the natural decay of the materials of which it is made, must be exceedingly slow in its progress, and very trifling in any individual year. If we were to take a third of the above sum as the cost of repairs necessary to combat that natural and inevitable deterioration of the ships in ordinary, it would doubtless be sufficient. By fixing it at £150,000, we shall certainly be on the safe side.

Putting, then, all these different results together, we find that the expense of building and repairs of the fleet, during 1847, should have been—

Ship-building, as per table, in page 48	...	...	£805,170
Repairs of fleet in commission	...	...	776,200
Ditto of fleet in ordinary	...	...	150,000
Grand total	...	...	<u>£1,731,370</u>

There are, doubtless, many disturbing causes to interfere with the correctness of this calculation; but if the data be correct from which they are made, and which have been furnished by the Admiralty itself, there is every reason to believe that the total is, at all events, not *less* than the real figure required.

Some idea of the amount to be set down to wages out of the above grand total, may be formed in the following manner.

According to a return of the cost in materials and labour of eight ships of the line, which will be found in the appendix, page 883, it appears that the latter formed about $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole cost.

Now the work done in 1847, for ships launched from government yards during that year and up to May 1848, has been shown (page 47) to be £54,180 and 24,570 Total £78,700

And for vessels still on the stocks, at this latter date, £422,600

Less cost of work done in 1847, to the following

steamers included in this number, but which were in private yards:—

Megara, half of 1,220 tons (see table, page 44)	610
Arrogant, " 1,630 " do.	815
Simoom, " 1,240 " do.	620
Vulcan, " 1,530 " do.	765
Greenock, " 1,060 " do.	530
Plumper, " 420 " do.	210

Total of tons assumed to be the work of 1847...3,550,

At £25 £88,750

Remainder in government yards 338,850

Total cost of construction in government yards ... £412,550

Brought forward				£412,550
Repairs to hulls of sailing vessels ($\frac{1}{2}$ of £443,200)*	£221,600			
„ do. steamers (4-7ths of 180,400)†	108,100			
„ do. sailing vessels in ordinary	150,000			
				474,700

Total cost of work done in government yards in 1847, (supposing the whole of the repairs executed there), either for building or repairing				887,250
Masts, yards, stores, and rigging, for ships built	92,600			
Repairs of same, sailing vessels (re- maining half of £443,200) ...	£221,600			
Ditto steamers (remaining three- sevenths of £180,400)	77,300			
				298,900
Total on masts, yards, rigging, and stores				391,500
Repairs of engines to steam vessels				152,600
Total work done by government				£1,431,350

The following done by contractors :—

Marine engines	157,000
Ships launched from private yards, as per table, page 47	
£37,980 and £16,290	54,270
Steamers in construction deducted as above	88,750
Total in private yards	300,020
Total in government yards as above .	1,431,350
Grand total as above	£1,731,370

On the £887,250, cost of building and repairing hulls, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would be	199,630
On the £391,500, for masts, yards, &c., the per centage of labour would certainly be less, say 10 per cent. ...	39,150
On the £152,600, repairs of engines, it might perhaps be more, say one-third	50,860
Total	£289,640

* Amount of repairs to hulls on the one hand, and to masts, yards, rigging, and stores, on the other half, each (*vide* page 49).

† *Vide* page 49.

The gross outlay would then be composed of stores and materials for ship-building, and monies paid to contractors	£1,441,730
Wages of artificers in government dockyards	289,640
	1,731,370
Instead of which the sum voted was for stores, &c.	1,604,000
Wages at home and abroad	950,000
	£2,554,000

Showing an excess of no less than eight hundred thousand pounds beyond what appears necessary, even according to the data furnished by the Admiralty itself, to keep up the immense fleet in commission, and to carry on ship-building on a scale so needlessly extensive, and so disproportionate either to the wants of the nation or to the probable wear and tear of the ships, from loss or deterioration.

Even if we take off the expense of the victualling yards and some other small items included in this vote for wages, the excess will still be £700,000, exclusively of the charge for salaries for establishments at home and abroad, amounting to £164,000 in 1847-48.

Lastly, it may be objected that the calculations above refer to the expenditure incurred from 1st January to 31st December, 1847, whereas the vote, and the estimates upon which it is based, apply to the twelve months from 5th April, 1847, to 5th April, 1848; but it is very clear that the difference between those two periods must be quite immaterial: and whatever variations from the truth may occur in the foregoing results, either from this or any other cause, it is impossible to do away with the inference that a very considerable sum has been spent beyond the actual requirements, even according to the system adopted by the Government. It is not necessary from this to conclude, that the men in the dockyards remain with their hands before them; but the inference is inevitable, that a vast deal of useless labour has been done.

The public has already been so completely edified by the accounts of good sailing vessels turned into bad steamers; of small engines adapted to large hulls, and small hulls furnished with large engines; of ships elongated, and ships shortened, as though in emulation of Procrustes: these and other freaks of naval architecture are so generally known, and have been so much descanted upon, that it is needless to contribute our mite of information in order to prove that the Admiralty is fairly entitled to take for its motto—*Diruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundis*.

But these very vagaries in which our naval lords delight to luxuriate, are a proof that the system of Government establishments is altogether a bad one; and must impress every dispassionate person with the conviction, that it would be more advantageous to the State, if all repairs and constructions were made by private contract.

It is not to be denied that there are objections to this mode of proceeding; that it may be said that Government would be too much at the mercy of private individuals, and might be left without the means of meeting an emergency; that the stores would not be kept up; and, finally, that the alterations so much inveighed against would not still be prevented, because they might be ordered and contracted for.

It is, however, probable that, independently of the restraint arising from the recent expression of public opinion on the facts of this nature which the late investigations have brought to light, the naval authorities would be more chary of indulging their architectural fancies if each alteration were to become the object of a specific contract. *L'occasion fait le larron*, says the French proverb; and it may confidently be relied upon, that if the Government establishments were done away with there would be much less temptation to indulge in useless extravagances.

The other objections might be very much attenuated by the conditions to be entered into with contractors. It might be stipulated, for example, that they should take charge of such dockyards as might be necessary for the repairs and constructions, with liberty to make use of them for their own business besides; that they should at the same time take charge of the buildings and factories, and keep the whole in repair; that they should have the use of the tools, implements, and machines, according to inventory; and that they should take all their materials out of the Government stores at prices fixed year by year; that the establishments should at all times be open to the supervision of the Admiralty officers, or their delegates; that they might at any period be taken back by Government, at a notice to be determined, and in case of war without any notice at all, but on condition of a reasonable indemnity; in fine, that all disputes should be settled by arbitrators, chosen by each party—and in case of difference of opinion, by the First Lord of the Admiralty; that the courts of law and equity should be strictly prohibited from taking cognizance of those disputes, or of any question between the Government and the contractors relating to the execution of the contracts otherwise than by making the awards a rule of court; or at most, that an appeal should lie from the First Lord of the Admiralty to the Court of Queen's Bench or Common Pleas, which should decide as umpire between the two arbitrators, without power to order other proceedings; but that the prohibition should at least be complete with respect to the Courts of Equity.

None of these conditions appear impracticable, and the one which seems the most startling, namely, that of placing certain dockyards, with their buildings and machines, &c. at the disposal of the contractors, is not without a precedent in this country. The coinage of the State is made by a company of moneyers, who contract to deliver so many sovereigns for every ingot of gold of a given weight and fineness, and the ingots themselves are prepared by the melter, by contract. The government furnishes the bullion to the melter, and the ingots to the moneyers; to both it lends its buildings, machinery, and implements, in as far as they are required.

No one can doubt that, if the establishment of workmen at the dockyards ceased to exist as a Government establishment, a great temptation to making injudicious and costly experiments would be removed. Few can doubt that repairs and constructions would be executed as well or better, and at a far cheaper rate. Mr. Ward himself, late Secretary to the Admiralty, does not attempt to deny this. "I stated the other day," says he (in his answer to question 1649) "that was a point that cannot be gone into too carefully; that I have never seen such a

debtor and creditor account made out as regards Woolwich factory, as convinced me that the estimate on which they are going, namely, that we make a saving of 25 per cent. by conducting our own repairs instead of putting them into the hands of the contractor, would be substantiated by facts. But that estimate is the belief of all those most intimately acquainted with the subject. They think that if we had those repairs to do by contract, independently of the inconvenience of sending the ships to various ports whilst those repairs were made, there would be an addition of annual cost to the country of at least 25 per cent."

"Is not that," he was then asked, "an important question to be ascertained, before the public expend a million or a million and a half more, at Keyham for instance?" To which he replies, "It is a very proper question to be ascertained. There are grounds of general policy which may make it expedient to have establishments at various points upon the coast; but with reference to the extent to which you shall carry them, if it cannot be shown that there is economy in doing the repairs at our own establishment, *I should think the whole course that has been pursued hitherto is erroneous.*"

So that first the establishment is created, no matter at what expense; and then the question is mooted whether the repairs might not have been done at a cheaper rate, and the whole outlay saved into the bargain?

Before dismissing this part of the subject it may be as well to examine how far the scale of ship-building of late years has exceeded or fallen short of what was really required, in order to keep up the fleet without diminution.

From a return in the appendix (page 841) of ships broken up during the twenty years, from 1828 to 1847, the total number of each was as follows :—

		Total in the 20 years.	Average per annum.	Value, on the basis of table, p. 42.
Ships of the Line, 1st rate	...	2	...	£9,000
	2nd	3	...	12,450
	3rd	40	...	132,000
	4th	12	...	30,000
	5th	21	...	35,700
	6th	11	...	12,100
Sloops	...	92	...	53,200
Cutters	...	7	...	1,220
Tenders	...	38	...	3,420
Schooners	...	10	...	1,500
Packets	...	23	...	8,050
Yachts	...	4	...	900
Bombs	...	3	...	3,000
Hulks	...	10	...	
Total sailing vessels		276	13.80	304,540
Steamers		4	.20	3,000
Grand totals		280	14.00	£307,540

Ships lost at sea, to be replaced, can scarcely be valued at more than £250,000, making together £557,540, which is about the estimated cost of construction of new vessels for 1847, as stated in page 47, and in so far would seem to prove that the scale of construction has been neither too great nor too small, but has exactly kept pace with that of demolition. As the energy, however, of the destructive organ of the Admiralty is at least as great as that of the constructive one, it may safely be assumed that ships are broken up before their appointed hour has arrived, and that the real deterioration is by no means fairly represented by the results of the above table. Rumour does indeed say that this is the case.

It is impossible while treating this part of the subject, to pass without notice one fertile source of expense in ship-building, and that is the royal yachts. It may appear ungracious to look with too scrutinizing an eye into the amusements of royalty; but although we are as loyal subjects as many who would profess the greatest horror at the bare mention of the topic, we cannot consider that this is trespassing on forbidden ground, and it can scarcely be doubted that her Majesty would be the very first to exclaim against the expenditure incurred, if she were aware of the figure.

From two returns in the appendix (pages 897 and 898), we learn that the royal yachts have cost in the last five years upwards of £235,000, or on an average £47,000 a year. The *Victoria* and *Albert* alone, laid down in November 1842, and launched in 1843, had cost in the five years up to 31st March 1848, no less than £118,747, exclusively of victuals and wages, amounting on an average to upwards of £6,000 a year besides.

Now, however delicate the subject may be, and however unwilling to obtrude upon the private pleasures of the crown, yet it is surely fair to contend that by defraying from the national budget an expense wholly personal to the sovereign, and without any interest to the public, the country does in fact pay an addition of £47,000 a year, or one-ninth, to the civil list. We do not see the expenses of special trains for the sovereign included in the national expenditure; why then should the yachts be so? Both are for the private recreation of the sovereign—both are for the purposes of travelling and for no other; and the mere fact of the bare property—the fee-simple, if we may say so—of the yachts being vested in the nation, only renders the matter worse, for the people have not only to pay the cost of building but that of repairs, although they have no enjoyment of their property, and it may with truth be said of them, *Sic vos non vobis*.

It remains now to calculate the probable reduction which might be effected in this item.

By referring to pages 28 and 29 we shall find that at the period to which the above calculations refer, there were in commission 161 sailing-vessels and 105 steamers, whereas it is proposed to maintain a force of only 30 sailing-vessels and 64 steamers.

The cost of ship-building in one year for the former class of vessels has been estimated—

For the hulls, (see page 47)	£352,450*
For masts, stores and rigging, (see page 48) .	62,100
And the repairs of ships in commission, (see page 49)	443,200

Total for the 151 sailing-vessels, ... £857,750

For the steamers the cost of hulls was, (see page 47) ...	£203,120 †
Masts, stores, and rigging, (see page 49)	30,500
Marine engines	157,000
Repairs of the steam navy in commission, (see p. 49) ...	180,400

Total for the 105 steamers ... £571,020

By taking the proportion between the 151 sailing ships in commission, and the 30 proposed to be retained, the total expense of building new ships and repairing those in commission would be a fifth, or £170,000; but as the tonnage would not be diminished in the same ratio as the ships themselves, it would be safe to estimate this figure at £250,000.

The same operation with respect to the steamers, will give for the 64 proposed to be retained in commission, about £348,000, say in round numbers £350,000

Add for repairs of eleven or twelve thousand horse-power, 80,000

Total for steam navy	£430,000
„ for sailing ships as above	250,000
Repairs of ships in ordinary	180,000

Total £860,000

which might probably be apportioned nearly in the following manner:—

Ship-building	£380,000
Repairs of vessels in ordinary	£180,000
„ of ditto, in commission	220,000
„ of steam engines	80,000
	480,000
Total as above	<u>£860,000</u>

Let it not be forgotten, too, that the foregoing calculations are made upon the cost prices to Government, according to the present wasteful system, not according to the more moderate ones which might be contracted for with private individuals. The natural deterioration and con-

* Viz., for vessels launched, as per table	£58,350
„ for vessels on the stocks	294,100

Total £352,450

† Viz., steamers launched	74,620
„ on the stocks	128,500

Total £203,120

sequent necessity for renewal of ship-building is also reckoned at the same per centage upon the number of ships in commission, as at present, whereas it is notorious that a large proportion of the ships broken up might, under judicious management, have been preserved for several years. Taking these two circumstances into consideration, there will be found a large margin against any other unforeseen causes which may tend to render the estimate insufficient.

HALF-PAY AND PENSIONS.

The half-pay and pensions could not probably be diminished for some time to come at least. It would, indeed, according to the system advocated in these pages, be temporarily increased; but, on the other hand, it is probable, that on investigating the lists carefully, many instances of pensions and half-pay coupled with other sources of emolument not sanctioned by the law, might be discovered, and that a saving might also be effected by looking more carefully into the certificates of life than the Admiralty authorities are in the habit of doing, unless their conduct belie their reputation.

Be it as it may, the returns laid before the public are not sufficiently detailed, to enable the most laborious person to form an accurate judgment on the subject.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE.

The expense of the Admiralty Office itself, would of course admit of a very large diminution. By reducing the number of ships employed by more than half, and that of the men by nearly one-half, even upon the reduced estimate of the year 1849-50, and more particularly by abolishing, at one fell swoop, the whole dockyard establishments, and depriving the naval lords thereby of their pastime of metamorphosing sailing-vessels into steamers and then conjuring them back into sailing-vessels again, the business of the office would be so lightened, that one-third, or at most, half of the present establishment would in all probability suffice; and most evidently there would not be occupation enough for four junior lords.

The naval dockyards would require nothing more than a superintendent, a receiver, and a few clerks to keep a correct account of the stores received and delivered. The total amount of salaries need not exceed £2,000, or at most £2,500, which for the seven yards would make £17,500.

The establishments abroad seem to require the pruning-knife, though not, perhaps, in the same proportion. Thus, by a judicious reduction of the force in the Mediterranean, the expense of the staff at Malta might be diminished one-half. The naval yards at Antigua and Jamaica might surely be altogether dispensed with, and the total expenditure of this item of the naval service diminished by £4,000.

We say nothing of the minor branches of expenditure—such as General Registry for Seamen, Scientific Branch, Miscellaneous, &c. *De minimis lex non curat*; and if an honest attempt were made to bring about, in the naval expenditure, the enormous saving which the adoption of a more rational and prudent system would render practicable, the public would be disposed not to look too minutely into an extra thousand here and there.

Under the proposed system, our naval expenditure would be nearly as follows:—

Wages of 21,000 men at £38 10s.	...	...	£808,500
Victuals „ at 17	...	...	357,000
Ship-building and repairs	...	...	860,000
New works	...	...	200,000
Admiralty office	...	...	70,000
Establishments at home	...	...	17,500
Ditto abroad	...	...	22,000
Wages to artificers in establishments abroad	...	...	25,000
Registry office, scientific branch, miscellaneous, &c.	...	...	190,000
			2,550,000
Half-pay and pensions	...	...	1,450,000
Total	...	...	£4,000,000

The above estimate includes the whole expense of the packet service, carried on by her Majesty's ships; and it is not the dream of a visionary reformer, but the sober conviction of more than one practical man, that with such an expenditure of not more than four millions, coupled, as it would be, with a large increase of force in the channel, the country would be in a much better position than she is now for repelling a sudden attack, or for collecting immense forces in order to enter into war with promptitude, as she did in 1793.

In the course of years still further reductions might be hoped for. Besides those to be looked for in ship-building, from the reasons above stated, it may be questioned whether building should not cease altogether, and whether the fleet should not be kept up at a much less figure than the present one of about five hundred; since, according to Mr. Ward's evidence, the 285 ships we had in commission a year ago, would alone have required 111,709 men to man them. (See *Answers to Questions* 1441 and 1442.)

The sum of £200,000 for new works would only be a temporary expense for four or five years, and then might be reduced more than half. Lastly, the outlay for half-pay and pensions would diminish every year.

But this is not all. It would by no means be desirable to leave hundreds of ships unemployed, and at the same time to pay hundreds of thousands in post-office contracts.

For the distant lines of communication, arrangements might certainly be made when the present contracts have expired, by which companies would contract for the transport of the mails, having the use of the Government steamers and of a dockyard, as Keyham for instance, on condition of keeping the vessels, yards, and buildings in repair. By this means a most important saving might be made, perhaps to the whole extent of the contract prices paid now.

We come now to consider

THE MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

This branch of the public service is divided, as every one knows, into two distinct departments—the ARMY and the ORDNANCE. A similar

division of the military service is not to be met with in any foreign country, and no sound reason can be assigned for its existence in our own, whereas many, besides that of the increased expense of administration, may be alleged against it,—among which the most prominent are, that it tends to destroy the harmony and impede the co-operation between two parts of a service which is one and the same; and that, in so far, it is adverse to that unity of action which is more necessary in military affairs than in any other; while at the same time it must cause delay, from the necessity of continual communication and correspondence between two authorities independent of each other. Lastly, it is favourable to wastefulness and prodigality, since the Ordnance department shelters itself behind the plea that it has no control over the demands made upon it by the Horse Guards or the Admiralty; and these last repudiate all responsibility as to the means employed in procuring the supplies they ask for.

If we were to seek for the real reason of this unexampled division of departments, we should find it in the patronage it confers upon Government; and although the *original* sin in this respect is not to be laid at the door of the present administration, they may fairly be charged with the sin of profiting by it, if they do nothing to remove so evident an abuse.

It will doubtless be supposed by many who consider these matters, as an argument in favour of the present system—that the superintendence of the Ordnance department is confided to officers who have spent almost all their lives in the engineering or artillery service, and who can bring to bear upon all the questions submitted to them the fruit of long study and practical experience in such matters. For the information of those who labour under such a delusion, the following quotations will suffice, from the evidence of Colonel Anson, clerk of the Ordnance, and in that quality member of the Board, before the Committee of Inquiry into the Army and Ordnance Expenditure.

(Question 10). "Is the Master-General of the Ordnance an ordnance or a cavalry officer?"—"He is at the head of the artillery, and field-marshal in the army. *He is not an ordnance officer in any other sense than as Master-General of the Ordnance.*"

(Question 12). "Has he ever been attached to the artillery?"—"Never, except as Master-General of the Ordnance, but the artillery have served under him."

(Question 25). "Has any member of the Board ever belonged to the artillery or the engineering service?"—"None of the Board."

(Question 26). "And yet they have the whole direction of the details of the artillery and the engineering service?"—"The Master-General has the direction of the details."

Upon this evidence we may safely leave the decision of the whole question to the public, and have little doubt that the verdict will be in favour of doing away with a department which virtually condemns itself by the mouth of its own officials.

But this is not all. The War Office is itself divided into two distinct departments, whose chiefs are altogether independent of one another—namely, the military and the civil branch; the Commander-in-Chief has the direction of the former, the Secretary-at-War of the latter.

Why the general business of the army should not be placed under one administration, as it is in foreign countries, and as the Admiralty is in our own,* we are at a loss to imagine. It is true that a good Commander-in-Chief may be a very bad hand at figures, and that a Secretary-at-War may know but little of military evolutions and military discipline; but there can be no reason why a general officer placed at the head of the army should not have in his service efficient men enough to enable him to enter into contracts, and make out the accounts of his own department as well as they are made out in any other.

The duties to be performed by every branch of the public service, relate to subjects too varied to be all within the reach of the head, however talented he may be. The Secretary for the Home Department, for example, has under his control business relating to general administration, to common law, criminal law, and municipal regulations; to education and science, to public works, and many other matters requiring peculiar knowledge, with all of which it cannot be supposed that he should be familiar, and yet by the aid of competent men and of common sense on his own part, he is able to get through this multifarious business. It would be paying a very bad and very ill-deserved compliment to the military profession if we were to deny our general officers, *in toto*, that share of practical ability and common sense which we are ready to give so many of our civilians credit for.

Having premised these observations, we will now repeat the details of our military expenditure, as taken from the combined Army, Commissariat, and Ordnance estimates for the current year, 1849-50. They are :

Chapters.	Army.	Ordnance.	Commissariat.	Total.	
	£	£	£	£	
Forces	3,655,588	711,895	—	4,367,483	Effective Services
General staff officers	173,376	—	—	173,376	
Public departments	94,199	85,881	4,662	184,742	
Educational establishments	36,706	94,859	—	131,565	
Volunteer corps	66,286	—	—	66,286	
Commissariat & barrack supplies †	—	301,650	369,256	670,906	£ 7,103,053
Establishments in the Colonies ..	—	315,373	114,082	429,455	
Wages of artificers	—	141,330	—	141,330	
Stores for land and sea service ..	—	323,418	—	323,418	
Ordnance and barrack works	—	508,205	—	508,205	
Rewards for military service	15,120	200	—	15,320	Non-Effective Services
Army pay of general officers	78,908	12,059	—	90,967	
Full pay of retired officers	56,000	—	—	56,000	
Half-pay and military allowances	400,000	80,195	30,005	510,200	
Foreign half-pay	44,156	—	—	44,156	
Widows' pensions	128,778	{ 17,802 }	6,580	152,220	£ 2,226,300
Compassionate allowances	95,500	{ 5,060 }	880	102,493	
Superannuation allowances	38,000	{ 43,312 }	6,407	94,637	
In-door pensions	35,541	{ 6,917 }	—	35,541	
Out-door pensions	1,224,053	—	—	1,224,053	
Grand Totals	£ 6,142,211	2,654,270	531,872	9,328,353	9,328,353

* With the exception of what relates to the armament, the *executive* part of which is confided to the Ordnance department.

† This includes the land and water transport for the Commissariat department, as well as freight of specie.

If even we were to deduct the cost of stores for the sea service, included in the above statement, and a portion of the office expenses and salaries of the Ordnance department, the total expense of the land forces would be found to exceed nine millions a year.

The numerical force of the Army was fixed by the estimates—

In the Army department	103,254
Battalions of Artillery, Sappers, and Royal Engineers, under the control of the Ordnance department	14,123
Total	<u>117,377 men, so</u>

that each man costs the country upwards of £75 annually.

The French army, provided for by the estimates laid before the Legislative Assembly, was in round numbers 410,000; the amount demanded, £13,800,000, so that each French soldier cost on the average but £34, or 55 per cent. less than the English, and yet the French army is one of the dearest in Continental Europe.

One great cause of the inordinate expense of our army is the enormous proportion of officers. Out of the 117,377 above quoted, 5,664 are officers, or nearly 5 per cent. of the whole number.

The French army, which in the beginning of last year was 449,000 strong, numbered but 17,625, (including 240 officers of the Commissariat department, under the name of *intendants*, *sous-intendants*, and *adjoints*).

Sufficient reasons might be found, by comparing the details of expenditure with those in foreign countries, for diminishing the military expenditure in this country, even if the present establishment were maintained. Something might be done by choosing the best among several systems that are followed, even in England, with regard to different corps. Thus the bulk of forces under the control of the Horse Guards are clothed by their colonels, while the artillery and other troops under the Board of Ordnance are clothed by the Board itself; the former are supplied with rations, and the cost defrayed by stoppages from their pay—the latter find their own rations.

Without pronouncing upon the respective merits of either of these methods, it is evident they cannot both be the best; and the same might be said of many minor differences in the way of administering to the wants of the soldiers in different corps; but here does not lie the gist of the expenditure, nor the main reform that might, and ought to be effected. It is to the reduction of the forces that we must look for any material relief of the national burthens.

It cannot too often be repeated, that if the position of England in respect of foreign politics is much below what it formerly was, the cause must be sought for in the financial embarrassments produced principally by the maintenance of excessive military and naval establishments. Had we returned after the peace to our establishments of 1792, and paid off our national debt, we should either have abstained altogether from interfering in Lombardy and Sicily, or we should have interfered effectually; we should not have given mere barren sympathy

to the gallant Hungarians, but flown to their rescue before they could have fallen a prey to the modern Attila.

Two things are pretty clear: one that the effective force in the United Kingdom, usually about 55,000 strong, can never be considered as sufficient against an invading army, even if we did not take into account the reserve requisite to supply the wants of our numerous colonies. The other, that it is infinitely beyond what the internal peace of the country requires.

The force then is either too great, or too small in that point of view: too great if we do not take invasions into account as a contingency to be provided against, and too small if we do. Now, as most people are of opinion that our navy and our population insure us against any event of this sort, the former conclusion appears the correct one, namely, that the force is too great.

As for the internal security of the country, experience has sufficiently demonstrated that the civil force is ample; and, indeed, it would be a severe satire upon our institutions if such were not the case, and would furnish a clear indication that they ought to be altered. But after having gone through the formidable and unprecedented year of 1848,—after having found the civil power sufficient to *prevent* outbreaks in Great Britain, and to *suppress* them in Ireland,—it is not too much to say that the army is entirely unnecessary in that respect, and might be altogether disbanded without the slightest inconvenience. True, it will be said that the knowledge of troops being ready to act if required, prevented any overt acts on the famous 10th of April, 1848. Well, even admitting this proposition,—which most of those will question who have, like ourselves, paraded the streets of London on that day,—few will venture to say that anything serious could have happened, or any riot occurred that would not have been easily and promptly suppressed by the police force, and the well-affected citizens; and let the worst come to the worst, he would be a bold man who should assert that it is better to keep up a force at an enormous annual expense, than to *run the chance* of an unimportant riot once in ten or fifteen years.

The only argument that remains in favour of keeping up a standing army is based on the possession of the Colonies.

About the beginning of the last year, the distribution of the forces was about as follows:—

Gibraltar	...	...	2,700 men.
Ionian Isles	...	...	2,700
Western Africa	...	...	600
Cape of Good Hope	...	...	4,200
Canada	...	...	7,700
Bermuda	...	...	1,080
New South Wales	...	...	4,000
Mauritius	...	...	1,520
Jamaica	...	...	4,000
West Indies	...	...	3,160
St. Helena	...	...	375
Hong Kong	...	...	1,140
Ceylon	...	...	5,000
			<u>38,175</u>

If to this be added the number of men on passage, and those required as a reserve to meet the unforeseen wants and casualties of a service so varied and so subject to contingencies, it would certainly not be too low an estimate to add a third to the above figures as the absorption of force by each colony, making about 50,000 for the whole, and leaving 67,000 for the United Kingdom.

Now, as in spite of all declamations about efficient establishments, it does appear impossible to maintain the necessity of any permanent military force in a country situated like our own, we should probably be as well off as we are at present if these 67,000 men were discharged ; but, as it may be prudent to preserve a small nucleus round which new levies might rally if any unforeseen emergency arose, and as a concession to the popular prejudice which would deem the existence of a state *without a single soldier* as a sheer impossibility, the number might be reduced to 30,000, including of course the Ordnance corps, which might remain untouched : for although an artilleryman or a sapper will always make a good soldier, the converse does not hold good.

It now remains to be seen how far the Colonies require the military establishments which they possess.

Taking them in the order above named, we should say, with Sir W. Molesworth, that the garrison of the Ionian Islands might be altogether dispensed with, and these islands left to garrison themselves, or be garrisoned by any other power willing to take charge of them.

As for the Cape of Good Hope, after what has happened lately on the convict question, but few will be found to advocate a large sacrifice for the preservation of such a colony ; but this consideration even set aside, it may be contended that a thousand or twelve hundred European troops would be ample for the service of the towns ; and as for other service, experience has abundantly proved that native troops are even better calculated than Europeans for the desultory warfare against the wandering tribes which are the only enemies to be contended with. Such native troops should be paid by the colonists themselves, with the very natural proviso that they should have the undivided control over them, as well as over the limits of the colony.

The same remark will apply to Ceylon, close as it is to India, where the efficiency of native troops has been so thoroughly tested.

In Canada a British military force is a most unnecessary luxury, for it is admitted, even by the partisans of colonial possessions, that British North America would not be worth the expense of a serious struggle ; and the force now kept up, though much greater than it was formerly, would be found inefficient to repress a general insurrection, and still more so to make head against the only foreign power which could attempt to wrest those colonies from us.

But, granting even that a garrison for Quebec and Montreal ought to be kept up at the expense of the mother country, a force of 2,500 men would be sufficient for that purpose ; and if the Canadians deemed it advisable to keep up a larger army, they might do it at their own expense, and at their own discretion. We may, however, be pretty sure that they would learn to dispense with soldiers altogether.

In Mauritius it is not easy to see what can be required beyond a

garrison of 1,000 men, if even that be needful, which appears at least a very questionable proposition.

As for Jamaica, and the West Indian Islands generally, the military force, as in the rest of the Colonies, is exceedingly small and inefficient if an attack from without were to be apprehended, while it is beyond the requirements of those possessions if such an attack be not contemplated. But if a force numerically as great as that now maintained were necessary, it by no means follows that European troops should be exclusively employed. The experiment of employing natives in the military service has succeeded in the East Indies, and we have no proof that it would not succeed as well as in the West. There appears no reason why negroes should not make as good soldiers as Hindoos; and we know that they have been employed in that capacity, and are so to this day in many Mahometan countries. The preponderance of the negro population, and the numerical inferiority of the dominant race, form no conclusive argument against the measure; for that same circumstance exists in the East Indies, and yet we do not find the native soldiers backward in fighting against the men of their own race.

This question, besides, involves considerations of humanity as well as of mere economy; and if any means were adopted by which the numbers of our fellow countrymen destined to perish in so murderous a climate, could be diminished, they ought to be hailed with delight by every man of right feeling, whatever his opinions on financial reform may be. We shall scarcely be accused of exaggeration in setting down at 2,000 the number of men that might be spared from the force actually serving in the West Indies generally.

The time will come when the military force in New South Wales and New Zealand may be with safety withdrawn, or, at all events, most materially diminished. At the present moment it would, perhaps, be premature.

As for Hong Kong it is another of the mill-stones which the ministry has hung about the neck of the nation,—hugging itself, to boot, as though it had done a very brilliant achievement. As long as this settlement exists it is certainly possible that the amount of military force stationed there at the present moment may be requisite; and we must look to some fortunate circumstance, such as the abandonment of the settlement, or its restriction to the sole use for which it can be usefully maintained, namely—that of a naval depôt, or otherwise to a diminution of the antipathy of the Chinese, in order to reduce the garrison, or do away with it altogether.

The Army thus reduced, would stand as follows:—

For Great Britain and Ireland	30,000
Gibraltar - - -	2,700
Western Africa - - -	600
Cape of Good Hope - - -	1,200
Ceylon - - -	2,000
Canada - - -	2,500
Carried forward	9,000

Brought forward	-	-	9,000	30,000
Bermuda	-	-	1,080	
New South Wales and New Zealand	-	-	4,000	
Mauritius	-	-	1,000	
Jamaica and West Indies	-	-	5,000	
St. Helena	-	-	375	
Hong Kong	-	-	1,140	
			21,595	
Add a third for men on passage, reliefs, and contingencies	-	-	7,405	29,000
Total	-	-	-	59,000

Now this being just half the number of the army (reckoning in the Ordnance corps) as it stood in the estimates 1849-50, the two first items of military expenditure, viz.—Forces and General Staff Officers, would also be reduced one half, that is to say from £4,540,859 to £2,270,430, even supposing no steps were taken to render the army less costly than it is.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

With such a reduction of the forces, the duties of the War Office would be proportionably diminished ; but by making the Ordnance and Commissariat departments mere branches of that office, and by carrying on the business in the same locality and by the clerks employed in it, by far the greater part of the extra expense would at once disappear, and it would not be too much to say that the whole military service of the country might be conducted for sixty to seventy thousand a-year.

COMMISSARIAT AND BARRACK SUPPLIES.

The next item of £670,906, extracted altogether from the Ordnance and Commissariat estimates, is composed in detail as follows:—

	Estimates 1849-50.	Probable amounts required with proposed reduction of force.
Forage for 3,000 cavalry horses in		
Great Britain	84,315	
Deduction from contractors' bills for officers' horses, and allowance for stable dung	13,236	
	71,079	32,000
Forage for 814 artillery horses in		
Great Britain	19,065	
Deduct on account of stoppages ...	2,045	
	17,020	17,000
Forage abroad, including money allowances in lieu thereof	121,394	73,000
	£209,493	£122,000
Carried forward ...		F

	Estimates 1849-50.	Probable amounts required with proposed reduc- tion of force.
Brought forward	£209,493	£122,000
Coals, &c., for barracks in Great Britain and Ireland	64,471	29,000
Candles " ditto "	13,497	6,000
Paillasse straw ditto "	7,700	3,500
Fuel and light abroad ditto "	60,913	35,500
Miscellaneous expenses ditto "	4,059	2,000
Money allowances in lieu of coals and candles to 35 gunners, at £6 each per annum	210	200
Ditto in lieu of fuel, candles, and straw, to artillery-men stationed in tower batteries	200	200
Provisions to troops abroad	99,773	58,000
Land and inland water transport, and supply of water abroad	78,367	55,000
Freight of specie	5,000	2,900
Purchase and repairs of barrack and hospital furniture, bedding, and utensils, at home and abroad	78,000	30,000
Great coats for the army	20,000	10,000
Clothing for colonial corps, recruiting dis- tricts and garrisons at home and abroad	9,028	5,000
Clothing, &c. for enrolled pensioners	13,149	13,200
Winter clothing for troops for Canada	3,250	1,100
Clothing, necessaries, and implements for military prisons	6,796	3,400
	<u>673,906</u>	<u>377,000</u>
Deduct on account of married soldiers allowed to sleep out of barracks, for which provision is made in the army estimates	3,000	1,500
Totals	<u>£670,906</u>	<u>£375,500</u>

ESTABLISHMENTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND COLONIES.

In discussing the next article of expenditure, it will be necessary to consider, at same time, the establishments of the Ordnance and those of the Commissariat, premising that this last department has none in Great Britain.

The British dominions are divided into military districts, of which there are 5 in Ireland, 1 in Scotland, and 4 in England and Wales—viz., Northern and Midland, South Western, Western and Monmouth and South Wales; and lastly, 2 in the Channel Islands.

The English districts are subdivided into smaller divisions, and the following table will show the number of establishments, with their expenditure, that of barracks and that of clerks of the works, both in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies.

UNITED KINGDOM.

	No. of Ordnance Establishments.	EXPENDITURE.				No. of Ordnance Establishments.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE.			Grand Totals.
		Ordnance Estabmt ^s	Barracks.	Clerks of Works, &c.			Ordnance Estabmts	Barracks.	Clerks of Works, &c.	
		£	£	£			£	£	£	£
Athlone district	1	1,107	5,521	1,357	} 5 districts of Ireland. }	10	11,848	28,504	8,427	48,779
Belfast	4	1,138	3,365	1,348						
Cork	2	4,622	4,349	1,360						
Dublin	2	4,784	8,556	3,285						
Limerick	1	197	6,713	1,077						
North Britain..	5	1,470	3,798	1,172	} 1 do. of Scotland. }	5	1,470	3,798	1,172	6,440
Central	3	561	3,725	1,141						
Devonport	2	2,643	2,036	1,672						
Dover	1	857	1,285	1,287						
Eastern	2	785	614	630						
Exeter	..	..	1,353	276	} 13 divisions of England. }	26	31,345	30,218	14,939	76,502
London	2	312	5,020	1,124						
Medway	4	2,913	1,881	2,710						
Manchester	1	315	5,621	1,141						
Northern	2	475	874	356						
Portsmouth....	4	5,278	4,303	2,214	} 2 dis.Chan-nel Islands }	3	1,997	1,244	1,277	4,518
Woolwich	2	13,736	1,701	2,023						
Waltham Abbey	2	2,992	..	..						
Yorkshire	1	478	1,805	365						
Guernsey	2	1,552	821	731						
Jersey	1	445	423	546	..	..	500	5,992	..	6,492
Sundry	..	500	5,992	..	..	..	..	16,000	..	16,000
Washing &c., } Barracks .. }	..	..	16,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	44	47,160	85,756	25,815	Totals of the U. Kingdom	44	47,160	85,756	25,815	158,731

COLONIES.

	No. of Ordnance Establishments.	EXPENDITURE.					
		Ordnance Establishments.	Barracks.	Clerks of Works.	Totals.	Commissariat Estabmts.	Grand Totals.
		£	£	£	£	£	£
Vandiemens Land	1	2,155	831	660	3,646	6,687	10,333
Australia	1	2,072	1,308	1,925	5,305	5,097	10,402
New Zealand	1	156	1,051	748	1,955	2,549	4,504
Jamaica	1	2,298	2,705	1,042	6,045	6,121	12,166
West Indies	13	9,135	2,698	3,911	15,744	19,410	35,154
Bermuda	1	828	941	480	2,249	3,164	5,403
Canada	7	8,545	7,027	7,059	22,631	17,538	40,169
Newfoundland	1	431	191	502	1,124	791	1,915
Nova Scotia	3	2,726	1,807	1,588	6,121	4,628	10,749
Ceylon	3	2,922	..	100	3,022	..	3,022
St. Helena.....	1	604	241	375	1,220	1,379	2,599
Cape of Good Hope....	5	4,635	2,740	1,719	9,094	17,179	26,273
Gibraltar	1	2,167	1,133	1,425	4,725	5,508	10,233
Western Africa	2	1,279	426	512	2,217	3,905	6,122
Hong-Kong	1	3,045	1,003	1,710	5,768	1,983	7,741
Ionian Islands	3	1,703	1,299	1,453	4,455	3,189	7,644
Malta	1	2,135	841	1,232	4,208	3,751	7,959
Mauritius	1	1,131	1,177	599	2,907	2,898	5,805
Sundry Stations	..	3,433	40,683	..	44,116	1,200	55,416
Washing, repairing bedding, &c. }	..	..	10,100	..	10,100		
United Kingdom.....	47	51,400	78,202	27,040	156,642	106,967	263,609
	44	47,160	85,756	25,815	158,731	*7,115	165,846
Total General	91	98,560	163,958	52,855	315,373	114,082	429,455

* In Ireland.

A considerable portion of this expenditure consists, as may be supposed, of salaries, and as the duties to be performed are quite within the scope of a military man's avocations, there seems no reason in the world why they should not be discharged by the officers and men themselves, without any, or at least, with a very trifling addition to the public expenditure; and in favour of this opinion, we may quote very respectable authorities in the military profession.

The first is Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney, an officer of 44½ years' standing in the royal artillery. His evidence on the subject, when examined before the Committee of Inquiry, was as follows:—

"Without a previous acquaintance with the system of keeping stores and keeping accounts, do you think that they would perform those duties as well as the present class of storekeepers?"—"They are capable of keeping accounts, I think, being less or more accustomed to this duty." (*Question 5995*).

"Are the accounts very intricate?"—"No." (*5996*).

"Are they not such as any educated man could keep?"—"Yes." (*5997*).

"Would there not be a saving in the proposal that you make, of one person in each case?"—"Yes; a saving of some expense, and it would be a small additional income to a military man." (*5998*).

"You would save the salary of the storekeeper?"—"A portion of it." (*5999*).

"If he were called upon to do active service, what would be done in that case? what would become of the charge of the stores?"—"They would be delivered to his successor, whoever he was." (*6001*).

"Is it so easy to deliver over the charge of the stores at a very short notice?"—"I had occasion to receive a large quantity of stores, and to give them over; it took some little time to do both, but I knew of no difficulty in it." (*6002*).

"Would it be very easy for a military man to undertake that duty?"—"They make every commanding artillery-officer a public accountant for his stores; if there is any deficiency he makes it good." (*6005*).

"That is for stores in active service?"—"Whatever he receives. At Hong Kong there was not a storekeeper; I received all the stores myself, and carried it on for some months, and then turned them over to a storekeeper, therefore I can speak about the fact itself." (*6006*).

Then the witness having explained that the detail of this duty had been attended to by Captain Freeze, the evidence proceeds:

"You had a superabundance of officers?"—"No we had not. He held it about eight months, I think." (*6012*).

"He had time both for his usual duties, and at the same time to look after the accounts?"—"He did both." (*6013*).

"And perfectly to your satisfaction?"—"Yes; and to the satisfaction of those at home." (*6014*).

"With respect to Gibraltar, the value of the stores there being a quarter of a million, do you think that an officer of artillery would be very willing to undertake that large charge with the chance of being called away at a very short notice upon active service?"—"If there were an allowance, some would seek it." (*6019*).

"You think you could tempt an officer?"—"I mean to say that a small allowance would be considered a great thing, and plenty of them would be very glad of it; if seconded, the addition to their pay would be very acceptable." (6020).

The next authority is Colonel Campbell, who had commanded the artillery in Canada. The following is extracted from his evidence:

"At Montreal there is a large store, and also at Quebec and at Kingston. Do you think that there are many retired officers of artillery, who have served a considerable number of years, that would like to undertake the arduous duties of storekeeper at either of those places?"—"I think there are many officers, if that source were open to them, who would not only like it, but would qualify themselves for it, and very soon become in every way competent." (*Question* 6207).

We have quoted this evidence at length, in order to show the question in all its bearings, as explained by practical men fully competent to form an opinion on the subject; and, as Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney observes, it is even now the established regulation that the commanding officer of artillery does become his own storekeeper for such Ordnance stores as are likely to be required for active service; and it must be remembered, that although the evidence just quoted has relation only to the Ordnance establishments which were alone under investigation, there is not one tittle of it which would not equally apply to those of the Commissariat. Nay, the union even of the Ordnance and Commissariat establishments under one head was mooted in the committee, and very cogent reasons given in its favour by the witness examined, Mr. R. Eaton, storekeeper at Devonport, as may be seen from the following extracts of his evidence.

"Supposing the Commissariat officer, who is better paid, were withdrawn, and the Ordnance store-keepers were expected to do the double duty with subordinate assistance, would not there be a considerable saving to the public under that arrangement?"—"No question there would." (*Question* 8026).

"With your general knowledge of Commissariat business, is there anything relating to matters of account under Treasury orders, which you, an accountant, could not execute?"—"I do not know the precise details of the duty of the Commissariat Office, but I am not aware of anything but what I should be competent to undertake." (8029).

"And you would say the same generally of your brethren who are Ordnance storekeepers?—Generally speaking, I should." (8030).

"That their knowledge of accounts and their habits of business would enable them to discharge the Commissariat duties as far as the money transactions under the Treasury go?—As far as my knowledge goes, it is what their precise duties are." (8031).

If, however, the employment of military men for keeping the Ordnance establishments be considered a questionable proposition, its propriety cannot surely be disputed with regard to the barracks.

Out of the £85,756 expenditure for barracks in the United Kingdom, no less than £23,365 are paid in salaries to barrack-masters and barrack-serjeants, and £1,638 to labourers. Of the £78,202, under the same head for the Colonies, £15,748 are for salaries, and £308 for labour.

Assuredly, the officer, non-commissioned officer, and even private,

when judiciously selected, would be perfectly competent to discharge these duties, each within the sphere of his competence; neither could they, with any degree of reason complain that they were over-burdensome, or inconsistent in their general character with the duties which an enlistment in the military service seems to impose; and on considering the question in this point of view, the entire sum of £41,059 spent upon the barracks in salaries and wages, might be saved. It would not, however, be advisable to advocate so sweeping a reduction; for these situations might be held out as posts to be filled by officers and men deserving of the preference, through their good conduct; and by adding rateably to their ordinary pay a quarter of the above sum, the required duties would be properly and efficiently discharged; and at the same time these places would afford means of rewarding merit, and would be a stimulus to good conduct, and excite an honourable ambition in the army.

It does certainly appear, from the evidence given before the Committee, that many half-pay officers are employed in this capacity, but it is also stated that they receive their half-pay in addition. It certainly is better to employ half-pay officers than persons altogether foreign to the military profession; but it would appear much more fitting to make use of officers or non-commissioned officers in active service on the spot, who would hand over the barracks to their successors in the way described by Lieutenant-Colonel Chesney, with respect to Ordnance stores. But if the selections were confined to half-pay officers, it is certain that the slightest increase of pay would be a boon to them, and the saving might at all events reach the figure assigned to it in the foregoing pages.

Even for the existing force, and without criticising any other item of this expenditure, open as it is to criticism as compared with the expenditure of former years, the amount ought not to exceed the following limit, viz. :—

Expenditure for the United Kingdom, as above	£165,846	
Less three-quarters of £25,003, salaries and wages	18,751	
		£147,095
For the Colonies	263,609	
Less three-quarters of £16,056	12,042	
		251,567
		£398,662

The next reduction to be made is that of the Commissariat establishments in Ireland. Prior to 1847, the provisions for the troops in that part of the United Kingdom, were contracted for and supplied by the Board of Ordnance. An alteration was then made on account of the dearness of provisions; but that reason having disappeared, the alteration consequent upon it should disappear also, and with it the whole cost of the Commissariat establishments, £7,115, which might therefore be deducted, even under existing circumstances, from the

£147,095 above, leaving the expenditure for the United Kingdom, £139,980.

But if the forces in the United Kingdom were reduced from 67,000 to 30,000, the cost of the establishments comprised in the branch of expenditure now under consideration might be diminished, at least in the same proportion, and the figure would then be in round numbers £63,000 instead of £139,980.

In the Colonies the rule of three cannot be applied in the same sweeping manner.

Thus, for New South Wales, one Ordnance establishment can hardly be considered too much, as long as military and naval forces are kept up there; but by employing military officers as storekeepers and deputy-storekeepers, a saving of at least £800 a-year might be effected, and a great boon conferred on the parties who should hold those situations.

The thirteen Ordnance establishments in the West Indies are of the most obvious inutility, dispersed as they are in islands of no sort of importance, and in many cases situated at very short distances from one another. What, for example, can be the use of an arsenal on those barren rocks, the Bahamas, on the coast of Honduras, or in the minute islands of Tobago and St. Vincent?

For all useful purposes, and probably for more than the real requirements, it is submitted that establishments in the following places would be sufficient, viz. :

Antigua, which is estimated at	...	...	£819
Barbadoes	...	...	2,014
Trinidad	...	...	781
St. Lucia	...	...	644
Demerara	...	...	574
Total	...	...	<u>£4,832</u>

But if the garrisons were diminished as proposed, it is evident that the expenditure might be reduced by a full third; as in respect of Barbadoes, for example, a deputy storekeeper might in that case be dispensed with, and on the other stations the duties of storekeeper might be performed by the barrack-master.

If any kind of establishment were required upon the other islands, it should be at most like that in New Zealand, which is set down in the estimates at £150 per annum.

Taking all these considerations into account, and more particularly the reduction of the forces, if the suggestions contained in the foregoing pages were carried into effect, £4,500 a-year may safely be set down as sufficient for the Ordnance establishments of the West Indies.

In Canada, seven regular Ordnance establishments seem completely superfluous and superabundant.

The four principal are placed at the points which confront the only part of the contiguous territory of the United States which is not separated by the lakes. They are—

Quebec	...	...	...	...	£1,481
Montreal	...	...	...	...	2,878
Kingston	...	...	...	...	1,229
Toronto	...	...	...	...	1,016
Total					£6,604

But this, from the reasons adduced in treating of the West Indian Islands, might be reduced a fourth, or a third. On the other hand, if Ordnance establishments of any kind are necessary in the three remaining points of Isle-aux-Noix, Rideau Canal, and Ottawa Canals, they should also be modelled upon that of New Zealand, at an expense of £150 to £200 each. The total expense of Ordnance establishments for Canada would then be about £5,800.

As for the Commissariat department in that Colony, there seems to be no reason why it should not be altogether suppressed. In Great Britain, we have no Commissariat establishments at all, the provisions of the major part of the troops being contracted for and supplied by the Ordnance department, and, for some corps, being purchased by the men themselves.

The reason why matters are differently conducted abroad, is founded on the difficulty of obtaining provisions, which seems to point out the necessity of having a special administration, in order to procure the needful supply.

Who can fairly say that such is the case in Canada, a country where corn and cattle may be supplied in any quantity, at prices inferior to those of the home market? If there is any necessity for Commissariat establishments in Canada, there must be the same necessity for them in England; if there be no need of them in the latter country, there is none in the former. *Ubi eadem ratio idem jus.*

It is, then, highly probable that the £17,538 which these establishments cost, might, even under existing circumstances, be altogether spared, or at least reduced to the bare salary of a few clerks who might be required to assist the Ordnance or other department that took charge of the supply of provisions as an accessory duty—if, indeed, the men did not prefer supplying themselves, which is a very probable case. Such an addition would perhaps not exceed £2,000 a-year, even if the force in Canada remained at its present figure; but if the proposed reduction were effected, that additional amount would unquestionably be the maximum required for the extra work, and the total cost of Ordnance and Commissariat establishments would not then exceed £8,000 a-year.

Nova Scotia has three Ordnance establishments—at New Brunswick, Halifax, and Prince Edward's Island. Of these, the latter appears altogether useless: in the first place, because the island itself is not worth keeping; and in the second, because it is immediately between the other two. It is pretty evident that £2,000 would be an ample allowance for the Ordnance establishments of this colony.

At Ceylon, the number is not probably too great; but the expense of the establishment at Colombo is evidently larger than it need be, with

the proposed reduction of force especially. £2,500 might be set down as sufficient.

The two principal establishments at the Cape are at Cape Town and Graham Town, and are on a scale far beyond the ordinary requirements of the Colony. At the former, we find no less than four clerks, besides storekeeper and deputy ; and at the latter, nine clerks and a storekeeper. It would surely be very possible to dispense with the deputy-storekeeper, and a good half of the clerks, by which means a saving of £1,000 to £1,200 a-year might be effected, and the entire establishment set down at £3,500.

The cost of the Commissariat establishments is enormous, but has probably arrived at its present amount in consequence of the Kaffir war ; and, like other expenditure created or placed on an enlarged scale for a particular cause, is not done away with or restored to its original limits when the cause ceases to exist. Still it would be rash to affirm that the establishment is altogether useless, so soon after the war. For ourselves, our chief hope is, that John Bull, taking into consideration both the heavy expenditure incurred for this colony, and the late conduct of the colonists with respect to the convict question, will at last open his eyes, and ask himself—*Cui bono* the Cape ?

In Hong Kong, the Ordnance and Commissariat departments might be combined with the greatest ease, and all the situations might be filled by the officers and men stationed there ; and by this very obvious and natural arrangement some deserving characters might be rewarded, and at least £3,000 a-year saved to the nation.

With respect to the Ionian Islands, enough has been already said. No pretext either of utility, of national honour, or even of private interest, can be adduced against the abandonment of this most costly possession.

Equally useless are the Bahamas, where we have a Commissariat establishment costing £778 a-year ; and the Gold Coast, where there is another which stands the country in very nearly £600 per annum.

Recapitulating all the above suggestions, the following might be considered approximatively as a sufficient allowance for the colonial expenditure in respect of Ordnance and Commissariat establishments.

		Ordnance Establishments.		Commissariat Establishments.		Totals.
Van Diemen's Land	...	£2,100	...	£6,000	...	£8,100
Australia	...	2,000	...	5,000	...	7,000
New Zealand	...	150	...	2,500	...	2,650
Jamaica	...	2,250	...	6,000	...	8,250
West Indies	...	4,500	...	19,000	...	23,500
Bermuda	...	800	...	3,000	...	3,800
Canada	...	5,800	...	2,200	...	8,000
Newfoundland	...	400	...	800	...	1,200
Nova Scotia	...	2,000	...	4,600	...	6,600
Ceylon	...	2,500	...	...	...	2,500
St. Helena	...	600	...	1,300	...	1,900
Carried forward	...	£23,100	...	£50,400	...	£73,500

	Ordnance Establishments.		Commissariat Establishments.		Totals.
Brought forward ...	23,100	...	50,400	...	73,500
Cape of Good Hope ...	3,500	...	17,000	...	20,500
Gibraltar ...	2,150	...	5,500	...	7,650
Western Africa ...	1,250	...	3,300	...	4,550
Hong Kong ...	1,000	...	900	...	1,900
Malta ...	2,100	...	3,700	...	5,800
Mauritius ...	1,100	...	2,900	...	4,000
Sundry Stations ...	3,400	...	1,200	...	4,600
Total for the Colonies in general	<u>£37,600</u>		<u>£84,900</u>		<u>£122,500</u>
The cost of barracks in the Colonies, as shown in page 67, is					78,202
Clerks of the works, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	<u>27,040</u>
Total ...	...	...	...	...	105,242
Deduct therefrom saving, as shown page 70, that might be effected by giving all the barrack situations to military men in active service ...	...	...	...	...	<u>12,042</u>
Remains expenditure that would be sufficient for the present military establishment ...	...	...	...	...	<u>£93,200</u>
But if the forces employed in the Colonies were reduced from 50,000 to 29,000, or 30,000, this figure might be reduced in the same proportion to ...	...	...	...	...	<u>£56,000</u>
The total amount required for the branch of expenditure now under discussion would then be as follows :—					
United Kingdom—for Ordnance establishments, barracks, clerks of the works, &c., as shown page 71 ...	...	...	...	...	63,000
Colonies—Ordnance and Commissariat establishments, as above ...	...	...	...	122,500	
Barracks, clerks of the works, &c. ...	...	...	...	56,000	178,500
Total ...	...	...	...		<u>£241,500</u>

This figure might be still further reduced by the appointment, as a *general rule*, of officers in active service, or as the committee suggests, on half-pay, to fill the situations not only of barrack-masters, but of storekeepers of Ordnance establishments. It might again be reduced by confiding the Naval and Ordnance stores to the care of one individual, who would then have the charge and responsibility of both. Nothing can be more similar than these duties even under the existing arrangements; for the storekeeper who has charge of sails, pitch, tar, &c., can as well take care of pickaxes, trowels, &c., and in many cases the articles are absolutely identical. It may in truth be doubted whether there is any necessity for maintaining two distinct establishments, one under the Admiralty, and the other under the Ordnance Board, at

Woolwich, Plymouth, Bermuda, Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, and Malta, in order to perform duties so closely resembling one another; and it can scarcely be denied that an immense saving would be the result of a consolidation of the two establishments into one in the above places.

WAGES OF ARTIFICERS.

The next item of £141,330 for wages of artificers, labourers and others in the several establishments, does in reality include two species of expenditure, one as respects the keeping up of those different establishments, and the other whose main object is the manufacturing of arms and warlike stores. The following may be considered to belong to the latter category, viz.—

Birmingham establishment	...	...	...	£2,514
Woolwich laboratory	...	...	...	16,801
Inspector of Artillery's department	...	...	...	4,917
Brass foundry	...	...	...	2,732
Carriage department	...	...	...	28,028
Waltham Abbey powder-mills	...	...	...	4,255
Enfield factory	...	...	...	2,243
Total				<u>£61,490</u>

This deducted from the sum of £104,565, amount of wages for the				
United Kingdom, would leave	...	...	...	£43,075
For the Colonies	...	...	...	28,134
Crew of Ordnance vessels	...	...	...	4,739
Allowances	...	...	...	3,892
Total				<u>£79,840</u>

Without stopping to inquire how far the *mode* in which this expenditure is conducted might be modified, in such sort as to ensure greater economy, it is certain that the *amount* might be reduced in about the same proportion as the forces—that is, in our present hypothesis, to about one half, or say £40,000.

ORDNANCE STORES.

The remaining £61,490 must be considered together with the expenditure for stores for land and sea service, of which it forms an essential part. The estimate under this head being £323,418, the total amount, by adding the above £61,490, would be £384,908.

Scarcely any branch of the public service is so replete with instances of reckless extravagance, and of inconceivable mismanagement, as the one now under consideration. The naval dockyards and storehouses are perhaps the only parallel that could be found.

The following extract from the Report will show in what strong terms the lavishness of the Ordnance department has been reprobated by the Committee of Inquiry.

"Your Committee are not satisfied with the explanations given them with respect to the regulations which fix the quantities of stores; and they think it desirable that Government should institute some further inquiry into this matter with a view of determining more accurately the amount to be kept at the stations both at home and abroad."

"It is difficult to understand the necessity of maintaining during peace, particularly in the Colonies, the large amount of stores which are now accumulated. It is in evidence that in Canada, according to an account which will be found in the appendix, the value of the stores is estimated at £650,000, and the stock of gunpowder to be maintained at home is equal to the consumption of the last two years of the war with France."—(*Vide* Report, page xlvi).

In the course of the debate on the Ordnance estimates last session, Mr. Cobden, himself a member of the Committee, stated that there were of pikes in store 142,000, of which the annual consumption is but 3,000

of havresacs	...	...	...	170,000	...	...	7,000
of kettles	...	...	...	24,000	...	...	3,000
of sand-bags	...	...	...	1,200,000	...	...	35,000

So that of the first article there were no less than forty-seven years' consumption in hand, while of the others there were from eight to thirty-four years.

With respect to gunpowder the account stands thus:—

There were in store the 1st January 1849:—

In Great Britain and Ireland	...	...	99,140 barrels
Abroad	...	...	75,647
			174,787*

The greatest consumption was in 1847, and reached 8,700† barrels, so that there were at the above period twenty years' consumption in store, taking the whole stock into account, or above eleven if we only consider the stock in the United Kingdom.

But this it appears is not thought sufficient, for the figure of the permanent stock to be kept at home is fixed at 170,000 barrels; and in order to arrive at that number, it is the habit of the Board, Colonel Anson tells us, to contract for 12,000 barrels a year, and make 6,000; and so poor did we seem to that gentleman in respect of gunpowder, that he feelingly deplored that the figure of 170,000 barrels was not yet reached.‡

Is it to be wondered at that under such management the estimate for stores has risen from £65,000 in 1835 to £213,246 in 1845, and £463,743 in 1848?—that the cost of the royal carriage department, brass foundry and inspector of Artillery department, which were in 1835 respectively, £4,689, £649 14s., and £1,279 7s. 9d., rose in 1840 to £11,641. £1,025 6s., and £2,118 5s. 6d.; in 1845 to £15,811 15s., £1,578 5s. 4d., and £4,623 5s. 5d.; and in 1849 to £28,020 3s. 9d.,

* *Vide* return in appendix, page 997.

† *Vide* Colonel Anson's evidence, question 2,360; but a return in the appendix, page 1006, gives the consumption for 1847 at 8,164 barrels only.

‡ *Vide* answer to questions 2377 and 2392.

£2,397 6s. 1d., and £6,646 0s. 8d.? or that the number of men employed in the laboratory at the several periods above named was 126—223—308, and 455 ?

But it is not sufficient to have eleven years consumption of manufactured gunpowder ; there is the same redundancy of the materials from which it is made, since there were at the same period eleven years consumption of sulphur, and six to seven of saltpetre—the quantity of the former being 480 tons, and that of the latter 4,000.* The calculation for these two articles, however, is made upon the quantity *manufactured* per annum ; but as that is double the consumption, it follow, that there was sufficient sulphur to supply the *real wants* of the service for twenty-four years, and sufficient saltpetre for fifteen ; so that between the raw material and the manufactured we might go on for six-and-twenty years without laying out a shilling and without touching the stores abroad.

Let it not be supposed, either, that there is any dearth in our colonies. In Canada, for example, there were in the beginning of last year at least 2,680 barrels of powder, viz. :—950 at Quebec ; 300 at Montreal ; 680 at Kingston ; 130 at Prescott ; 500 at Isle-aux-Noix, and 120 at Toronto, whereas the annual consumption of the whole colony is but 259 barrels. (*Vide Question 3,817.*)

The natural and inevitable consequences have followed from this unheard-of prodigality. Stores have been accumulated, not only without the slightest regard to economy, to the strong probability of a continuation of peace, or to the facility of procuring supplies with rapidity in case of war breaking out ; but the mutability of the science of war itself has been altogether overlooked, in defiance of all the lessons of experience, and matters have been conducted as though the principles and practice of gunnery had never undergone any changes or improvements, or, at least, as though they could never undergo any more.

But to exemplify this lamentable result by figures, let us add that the stock of Ordnance stores in hand, at home, in 1848, was £4,251,038 ; and abroad, in 1847, £2,171,083—making together £6,422,121,† of which we may safely affirm that a fifth is altogether obsolete and unfit for service since the change that has taken place in the armament both of the sea and land forces.

The Committee of Inquiry has drawn attention to the circumstance that out of 14,844 iron guns in store in 1839, no less than 7,683 were considered obsolete ; and of 10,388 carronades 3,730 had also become useless.‡ In another part of the Report the committee alludes to 165,936 flint muskets, which have likewise lost all utility since the introduction of percussion fire-arms.¶ The cost of these articles alone may be estimated at £800,000.

In making this mention, however, the committee has merely set down the results of a return which will be found in the appendix, page 901, and purports to give an account of the ordnance withdrawn from use as obsolete, not the *entire* amount of obsolete pieces in existence. A table, (page 967,) gives us a statement of the whole quantity of ordnance in store, at home and abroad, as follows :—

* *Vide answers to questions, 2537, 2542, and 2543.*

† *Vide appendix, page 980.* ‡ *Vide Report, page xxix.* || *Ibid, page xxxvi.*

BRASS.			IRON.		
Guns	2-pounders	1 obsolete	Guns	12 - inch	1
	12 "	400		10 "	138
	9 "	461		8 "	1,198
	6 "	448		56-pounders	27
	4 "	9 obsolete		42 "	69
	3 "	191		36 "	4
	1½ "	2 obsolete		32 "	8,532
	1 "	47		24 "	2,519
	½ "	1 obsolete		18 "	5,674
Mortars ..	13 - inch	2		12 "	2,768
	10 "	35		9 "	2,255
	8 "	31		6 "	1,298
	5½ "	161		4 "	19 obsolete
	4½ "	187		3 "	15 obsolete
Howitzers ..	10 "	2 obsolete		2 "	1 obsolete
	8 "	8 obsolete		1½ "	4 obsolete
	5½ "	197 obsolete		1 "	3
	4½ "	79		½ "	4 obsolete
	32-pounders	10	Carronades ..	132-pounders	1
	24 "	182		100 "	1
	12 "	190		68 "	165
		<u>2,644</u>		42 "	834
				32 "	4,205
				24 "	1,934
				18 "	2,786
				12 "	1,257
				9 "	71
				6 "	148
			Mortars	13 - inch	117
				11½ "	2
				10 "	141
				8 "	147
				6 "	38
			Howitzers ...	10 "	47
				8 "	86
				5½ "	133
					<u>36,642</u>

The descriptions marked obsolete above are so marked in the table just quoted. They amount to 220 pieces of brass ordnance, which must have cost at least £66,000, and 43 pieces of iron. But a large quantity of the guns for 18, 12, 9, and 6-pounders—and of carronades for 42, 32, 24, 18, and 12-pounders has become obsolete, as appears from a return in the appendix, page 882-3, of unappropriated ordnance at Woolwich and the outports; and taking the proportions which we find in that table, between quantities in store and quantities obsolete, the number of obsolete pieces of the descriptions just enumerated would be respectively 1,400, 1,200, 1,500, 500, 600, 1,000, 950, 1,600, and 300; making the total quantity of useless iron ordnance upwards of 9,000, exclusively of the obsolete pieces in regimental charge, or embarked on board vessels.

The detail of the articles composing the enormous amount of £6,422,121,

above quoted, was not furnished to the committee, and in all probability could not have been made out, as stock is not very regularly taken by the Ordnance department; but a return given in the appendix, (page 969) of the principal articles in store in the year 1847, with their money value and the amount of issues that year, will give some clue to the actual consumption, not as it *should be*, even for a force as large as that actually maintained, but as it *really was* under the influence of a system of almost fabulous prodigality.

DESCRIPTION OF STORES.	Quantities.	Money value.	Issues.	Proportion- ate money value.	Years supply in store.
ORDNANCE—					
Brass Guns	1,733	£186,108	108	£11,599	16
„ Howitzers	529	30,851	40	2,332	13
„ Mortars	451	16,792	10	373	45
Iron Guns	24,497	896,138	1,296	47,304	19
„ Howitzers	279	7,880	13	372	21
„ Mortars	456	15,736	18	966	25
„ Carronades	11,380	165,945	328	4,788	35
Carriages—Cast Iron	888	6,660	246	1,870	3½
„ Wood; Travelling	2,218	88,720	149	5,960	15
„ „ Garrison	2,367	16,569	287	2,009	8
„ „ Ship	5,367	32,256	1,595	9,570	3¼
Beds—Iron	219	2,628	9	108	24
„ Wood	191	1,910	20	200	9½
Platforms	353	8,119	373	8,570	1
Small Arms—					
Muskets, Percussion	68,942	206,826	40,431	121,293	1½
„ Flint	167,073	292,378	5,546	9,706	31
Rifles, Percussion	1,776	8,436	1,222	5,805	1½
„ Flint	2,659	9,572	465	1,674	6
Carbines, Percussion	10,400	32,240	3,428	10,284	3
„ Flint	5,174	10,865	927	1,947	5½
Pistols, Percussion	6,650	10,987	3,527	5,820	1½
„ Flint	18,364	23,873	497	646	37
Swords	60,690	33,280	18,092	9,951	3¼
Lances	234	140	753	410	¼
Pikes	104,856	20,971	5,006	1,001	21
Spears	2,489	622	16	4	155
Accoutrements—Sets, Sorts	212,762	106,381	23,478	11,739	9
Ammunition for Cartridges	Ordnance	3,595,087	262,146	619,567	45,176
	Small Arms. { Ball { Percuss.	26,032,964	57,273	5,186,508	11,411
	„ { Flint { Percuss.	33,954,451	79,793	1,812,855	4,289
	„ { Blank { Percuss.	7,108,601	8,175	3,588,962	4,127
	„ { Flint { Flint	3,937,532	5,316	872,825	1,171
Ammunition; Powder—whole					
barrels of 90 lbs.	161,794	598,638	15,006	55,522	10½
Shot—Round	3,662,456	274,684	225,865	16,940	16
„ Grape	365,803	54,870	10,743	1,614	34
„ Case	779,617	97,452	40,855	5,107	19
„ Hollow	74,465	9,928	20,808	2,774	3¾
Shells & Carcasses	746,168	186,542	56,374	14,093	13¼
Rockets, fire	16,022	8,411	8,249	4,125	2
Brimstone—Tons	518	4,403	38	323	13½
Saltpetre—ditto	3,414	99,006	1,079	31,291	3¼
		3,979,520			474,264

We may just cursorily observe, that this list cannot contain the entire amount of stores in existence, but merely those confided to the ordnance storekeepers; for example, besides the 36,612 pieces of iron ordnance given in the list, there were, according to the return in the appendix (pages 962 and following, just quoted), upwards of 10,000 pieces in regimental charge, and embarked on board ships.

With respect to the general argument intended to be based upon the foregoing statement, it must be remembered that *issues* of stores are not identical with *consumption*; and it by no means follows that the entire quantity given out from the stores in one year, is employed in one year; as, for instance, we see that 15,000 barrels of powder were issued in 1847, and it has been shewn in page 76, that the consumption did not exceed 8,700. Again, the round shot consumed by the navy and artillery, according to the return in page 1001, was, together, 129,546 for one year, while the issues in the above statement are 225,865.

Many reasons concur to render this discrepancy great, but more particularly so at present. In the first place, the issues of some of the more important articles, as brass and iron ordnance, carriages, platforms, percussion muskets, and some description of shot and shells, do not indicate any periodical wants at all, but are the consequence of a change of armament, which is nearly completed at present. In the second place, when a ship is paid off, instead of transferring its stores to the vessel which goes out to supply its place—without any notice being taken, except of the *additional* stores which may happen to be embarked—the whole quantity of such stores as are peculiarly adapted to that particular vessel, ordnance among others, is landed and remains in stock, and is then called *appropriated stores*, whereas the *entire* quantity embarked on board the vessel going out in commission is set down as issues.

Thus the total value of the above enumerated articles required to satisfy the regular yearly wants of our naval and military men, even to the full extent of their insatiable appetite for ordnance stores, must be considerably below the foregoing sum of £474,264, and would not, in all probability, reach a moiety of that figure.

Yet although there was as much as 37 years' consumption in hand of some articles, and although the total money value of the deliveries was, to that of the total amount in store, as 1 to $8\frac{1}{3}$, which, as the issues exceed the consumption, would indicate that there was at least ten years' supply in hand—on averaging all the articles, we do not find anything like a decrease of expenditure in the following year.

There were, for instance, 16 years' consumption of brass guns, 13 of howitzers, and 45 of mortars; and yet we see that 153 pieces were made in 1848,* being but five less than the total issue in 1847.

Of iron ordnance there were nineteen years' supply, but yet 390† were purchased in 1848. Of swords there was a sufficiency for upwards of three years, and yet 25,238 were made the next year,‡ being about 40 per cent. more than the issues of the preceding year. Of ball-cartridges for small arms on the percussion principle there were five years' con-

* *Vide* return in appendix, page 974.

† *Vide* return in appendix, page 890.

‡ *Ibid*, page 985.

sumption, nevertheless 9,291,990* were made, being not much less than double the issue in 1847. Of round shot 160,000 were made or purchased,† though there were sixteen years' supply in hand.

It will perhaps be urged in extenuation, that the proportions in the sixth column of the statement in page 79 do not hold good, because a large quantity of the articles enumerated has become obsolete from the change of armaments; but no argument can be a stronger condemnation of the whole system pursued, since it only proves that an immense deal of money has been thrown away which might have been saved, had we not had our thoughts directed to bygone days of gigantic warfare, and been content to keep two or three years' stock in hand, and to trust, in case of emergency, to that patriotism, intelligence, and activity which has produced supplies as by magic in former years, when the mechanical arts were much less perfected, and which would not be wanting at the present moment, when we have so many more facilities for turning them to account.

It will also be objected that the Board of Ordnance is not responsible for this, but is obliged to meet the demands made upon it by the Horse Guards and the Admiralty; but it may be replied that the remedy would be to let those administrations make or purchase their own ordnance stores, and then each would be directly responsible for the mode of supplying its own wants, and for the extent of those wants: and neither of them would have, as a scape-goat, a third independent department entrusted with the execution of their orders.

The real quantities absolutely requisite for a year's consumption can only be guessed at, since no data whatever have been furnished in any document hitherto published, nor is it likely the Board of Ordnance itself has any very clear notion on the subject. We do not either meet with that unanimity of opinion between the Ordnance and Admiralty Offices which might assist us in making an approximate estimate. Thus, in answer to *Question 4972*, Sir F. Hastings, principal storekeeper, states that the probable depreciation of stores on board a vessel in commission would be about a third for the whole three years of its cruise, or about 10 per cent. per annum, whereas, from a note appended to a return in the appendix to the Report on Naval Expenditure (page 719), we are given to understand that the wear and tear may be estimated at from 3 to 4 per cent. per annum.

In the foregoing pages many reasons have been set forth for presuming that the requirements of the service, measured even by the too often arbitrary and always lavish demands of officers, who feel that no responsibility is attached to them on that score, could scarcely exceed £200,000 for the articles named in statement page 79, or perhaps £250,000 for every description of stores. This supposes, of course, that the present stock is only to be kept up, but not increased.

With respect to this question of augmenting the stock in hand on account of the changes in the mode of arming fortresses and ships of war, let us observe, that although a return in the appendix (page 890), shows

* *Ibid*, page 936.

† *Ibid*, pages 913 and 932.

a number of 464 8-inch guns for land and sea service, and 1637 32-pounders for sea service alone, as necessary to complete the new armament—this conclusion, on comparing it with what appears in other returns, presents discrepancies that require, at all events, to be explained and reconciled.

Thus, on the one hand, in the return of ordnance withdrawn on account of the change adverted to (appendix, page 901), and in another return of unappropriated ordnance at Woolwich and the outports (appendix, pages 882 and 883), distinguishing between the serviceable and the obsolete, we do not find a single 32-pounder reckoned among the latter. On the other hand, according to the return quoted in page 78, there were 8,532 32-pounders in store, and 2,828 embarked, making altogether 11,360, which only falls short by 94 guns of the number given in return, page 887, as sufficient to arm the entire navy, including ships in ordinary and in course of construction. It is, at all events, clear, that after arming the ships in commission and the advanced ships, there would remain an enormous surplus towards arming the rest if it became necessary.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, and more particularly looking to the proneness to extravagance in officers who are not made responsible for their demands, as being executed by an independent department, and, as it were, paid for with other people's money, from not being included in the estimates of their own branch. Considering, also, the known prodigality and wastefulness of the naval department, would it not be fair to conclude that the legitimate wants of the land and sea forces, as they stand at present, might be supplied for £200,000 a year? and for the diminished force, proposed in these pages to be kept up, that £100,000 per annum would amply suffice? During several years, indeed, that amount might be reduced to the trifling sum necessary for the repair of repairable stores, until the total amount in hand was brought down to a more reasonable limit.

One means of ensuring economy would unquestionably be the abandonment of the laboratory, brass-foundry, and carriage department at Woolwich, or the handing them over to private contractors, in the way suggested for the naval establishments.

It is in vain that the defenders of the system, as it exists, eulogize the superior quality of the stores made in the Government factories. The Admiralty has said as much with respect to its dockyards, and its ship-building; and yet it has been proved, beyond dispute, that the sailing-vessels and war-steamers constructed by private enterprise, for this and for foreign governments, as well as ships of all sorts and sizes for the purposes of trade, have been made at a much less cost, and infinitely better than those launched from the naval dockyards, and without any of those failures which have made the Admiralty a bye-word for mismanagement and clumsiness, throughout the country.

The same result would take place with Ordnance stores, for there also the same reasons exist; and here again the dictum may be applied, *ubi eadem ratio idem jus*. It is true the officials of that department profess to make their brass ordnance at half the price demanded by contractors; but the key to this riddle is, that they have a large quantity of old metal

in hand, which they value much below the market price of the day. Let this stock be exhausted and we shall see whether they will continue to make brass ordnance at that price ; or, on the other hand, let them sell it to contractors at the price which is now put upon it, and we may rest assured that brass guns will be made cheaper than they are now.

Let us take another instance, that of the royal carriage department, which cost £37,938 16s. in 1848 ;* and yet, if we calculate the value of all the articles made there during that year, as given separately in the appendix (pages 938 and following), we shall find that it was under £90,000.

We would ask whether the Board of Ordnance seriously imagines it is doing good business in turning out a quantity of goods like this, as the entire produce of an establishment on such an immense scale. Assuredly, if a private contractor expended £37,938 16s. a year in wages and salaries, exclusively of the cost of the ground, buildings, and machinery, and of the repairs of these last, he would not be satisfied to turn out only ninety thousand pounds worth of goods annually ; or if he could not go beyond that limit, he would diminish his expenditure and have a less establishment. To any practical man it must be evident, that the notion with which the officers of this and other Government departments flatter themselves of making cheaper than private individuals, is based upon the most complete fallacy.

NEW WORKS AND REPAIRS.

In respect of new works, buildings, and repairs, estimated for the year 1849-50 at £508,205—viz., No. 1, new works exceeding £1,000 each, £290,836 ; No. 2, ditto under £1,000 each, £40,165 ; No. 3, ordinary and current repairs, £177,204—the Ordnance department has not shown itself more provident or more judicious than in the other branches of its expenditure.

It is a well known fact that barracks requiring an outlay of £80,000 to £100,000, have been set on foot in one of the manufacturing districts, though it was notorious that there were in existence many buildings which would have answered the purpose ; and it is even asserted that Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot had expressed himself satisfied with those buildings, and required no new ones. Other barracks, of an equally expensive description, have been erected in various parts of the North of England, as may be seen from an inspection of the estimates.

In these works, as in those conducted by the Admiralty, we perceive the evil effects of an administration confided to a Board. Each member follows his own hobby, and is allowed to do so by the principal member, because in case of failure the responsibility does not come home to him, but to that ideal being—the Board. Hence the prodigious sums squandered away in dockyards, basins, fortifications, barracks, &c. ; and hence, referring more particularly to the subject now before us, the yearly expenditure on ordnance works has risen from £115,393, in 1832, to

* *Vide* return in appendix, page 875.

£269,671, in 1848 ; and for barracks, from £149,130 to £347,811 ; for the former there had been voted in the seventeen years, from 1832 to 1848 both inclusively, £2,233,782, and for the latter £3,722,536, together £5,956,318.* The mere ordinary repairs of ordnance buildings and barracks at home swallowed up £1,835,015 of this sum.†

It is truly lamentable to reflect upon the sums lavished on the fortification of possessions, with respect to many of which it would have been more to the interest of the nation to have paid double the money in order to get rid of them.

From 1828 to 1847, both inclusively, there has been spent in

Bermuda	...	...	£183,146
Quebec	...	...	324,477
Montreal	...	...	185,981
Kingston	...	...	343,650
Mauritius	...	...	203,949 ‡

In the Ionian Islands an outlay of no less than £456,300 has been incurred since the peace which gave us these precious adjuncts to the British empire. Earl Grey himself says—"My opinion most decidedly is, that if these works were now to be begun, not a shilling ought to be laid out upon such fortifications."§

Were the proposed reform to take place in the army—or, indeed, if there were any serious reduction of the military forces, it may be laid down as a general rule that all barrack constructions, without exception, should be discontinued.

The works for fortifications in progress, (the demand for which in 1849—50, forms part of the No. 1 in the estimates), and the sums that would be required to complete them, are as follows :—

Devonport district—Completing Prince of Wales' redoubt	...	...	...	...	...	£
						500
Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark—Improvement of fortifications	...	...	...	...	...	174,206
London district—Conversions and alterations for store accommodations at the Tower	...	...	...	...	...	2,500
Medway district—Renewing wharings of West-gun-line, Tilbury Fort	...	...	...	...	...	3,284
“ Foundation of tower, Isle of Grain	...	...	...	...	...	1,500
Pembroke—Defence of dockyard...	...	...	...	...	...	52,900
Total, United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	...	234,890
Bermuda—Works at Ireland Island	...	...	...	...	...	£49,731
Cape of Good Hope—Rebuilding right face of Imhoff-battery, Cape Town	...	...	...	...	...	862
Carried forward..	...	...	...	...	...	£50,593
						234,890

* *Vide* return in appendix, page 1012.

† *Ibid*, page 1033.

‡ For these figures see returns in appendix, pages 1006, 1013 and 1014. They differ, however, from those given in a general statement (page 1050), except as respects Bermuda.

§ *Vide* Answer to Question 7880.

Brought forward...	£50,593	234,890
Gibraltar—New Works ...	62,858	
Grenada—New general hospital ...	783	
Malta—Reforming and improving the fortifications ...	156,849	
Mauritius—Improvement of the defences	140,319	
Newfoundland—New garrison hospital ...	3,687	
Nova Scotia—Citadel at Halifax ...	4,416	
		419,505
Total ...	£654,395	

Who can read this list without being astounded at such figures as £49,731 for Bermuda, and £140,319 for Mauritius, coming as they do at the back of nearly two hundred thousand pounds spent upon the former place since 1828, and upwards of that sum in the latter? Let bygones be bygones, we would say: it is useless to repine at the hundreds of thousands that have been wasted on these two unimportant possessions, but at least let the folly and extravagance stop here.

Taking off these sums there would remain £464,345 requisite for completing works in hand. From this again we may deduct the different items under £5,000 each, amounting to £17,532, which might be immediately terminated, and the difference, £446,813, for the works at Guernsey, Pembroke, Gibraltar, and Malta, might be spread over six years, as will be shown a little farther on.

Let it not be supposed that by making to the Ordnance officials the concession of the Bermuda and Mauritius fortifications, we should satisfy their appetite for new works; with these gentlemen *l'appetit vient en mangeant*: and Sir J. F. Burgoyne mentions, in his evidence, more than one work which must be constructed *over and above* those contemplated by the estimates, more particularly at Devonport, and in the Medway district.* This is the counterpart of Colonel Anson deploring that there were not 170,000 barrels of gunpowder in store in the United Kingdom.

But besides the saving to be effected by restricting the number of works to be continued, another might be realized by the more general employment of convict-labour; and if this desirable end is not attained, it must be owned that the Board of Ordnance does not seem to be the party in fault. This will appear from the following extracts from the evidence of Lieutenant-Colonel J. N. Colquhoun, assistant-inspector of the Royal Carriage Department, which would be equally applicable to the construction and repairs conducted by other branches of the same service.

"How many convicts have you in the employ of your department?"—"About 30 or 40. We have been promised a larger number; *we have great use for them*, and if we do not obtain convicts, we are obliged to employ a military working party. We have a great deal of labor in

* *Vide Answers to Questions 6538, 6541, 6560, et passim.*

piling planks from the saw-mill and removing timber from the wharf, which might be performed by convicts." (*Question 3234*).

"How long is it since you applied for that additional number of convicts?"—"We were promised them in an arrangement consequent upon some changes in the Home Office, but we never obtained them." (*Question 3235*).

"Do you mean to say that you have never had more than 20 or 30?"—"Never more than 30 or 40. Their health has been interfered with lately; now they are more able-bodied men, but hitherto they have been mostly cripples, who did very little work." (*Question 3236*).

"How many could you employ with advantage, in your department?"—"We were promised 100, and we could employ them." (*Question 3237*).

"And you say, not having them, you employ military parties?"—"Military working parties and horses." (*Question 3238*).

It is inconceivable why there should be any want of readiness on the part of the Home Office to carry into execution an arrangement which would have the double advantage of ensuring economy in public works, and doing away, *pro tanto*, with the ever-recurring difficulty of what to do with the convicts. It would, at all events, be so many less to send sailing all over the globe for a place to rest their feet upon.

Admitting, then, the works above named to be necessary, an annual vote of £75,000 during six years would suffice to complete them.

The No. 1 of the estimates would then stand as follows—

For completing works requiring not more than				
£5,000 each to finish them	...	...	...	£17,500
Yearly vote for the rest	...	...	...	75,000
Total	...	...	...	£92,500

instead of £290,836.

The No. 2, consists of works under £1,000 in value, and as the entire estimated cost of the works was comprised therein, and voted for last session, we shall have no occasion to provide for anything beyond the contingencies of new works of a similar nature, arising in future.

We find that this part of the estimate is—

For fortifications, at home	...	...	...	£3,492
" " abroad	...	...	...	3,838
				£6,825
Ordnance, civil buildings, at home	...	...	...	625
" " abroad	...	...	...	3,748
				4,373
Barracks, at home	...	...	...	19,114
" " abroad	...	...	...	9,858
				28,967
Total	...	...	...	£40,165

Now, admitting that the same casualties may occur again with respect to fortifications *at home*, the probability, judging by analogy with the list of works, above £1,000 in value, enumerated in No. 1, is

that the sum required for fortifications *abroad* need not go beyond half the sum voted last year, say £1,600.

As for Ordnance civil buildings, if their number were reduced in the manner contemplated, the future contingencies might certainly be estimated at £2,000, rather than £4,373.

The new works for barracks stand at the sum of £28,967. In the event of a reduction of force, the expense in future, according to all probability, would be diminished at least in the same proportion as the army itself; so that, according to our hypothesis of 59,000 men, £14,500 would cover all contingencies, and the charges comprised in No. 2 might be estimated as follows, viz. :

Fortifications	...	...	...	...	£5,000
Ordnance civil buildings	...	...	...	...	2,000
Barracks	...	...	...	...	14,500
Total	...	...	...	...	<u>£21,500</u>

The last section of this part of the estimates, bearing the No. 3, consists of—

Repairs of fortifications, at home	...	£12,861	
" " abroad	...	11,241	
			<u>24,102</u>
Repairs of Ordnance civil buildings, at home,	11,696		
" " abroad	7,040		
			<u>18,736</u>
Repairs of barracks, at home	...	78,944	
" " abroad	...	55,422	
			<u>134,366</u>
Total	...	...	<u>£177,204</u>

Now, for the same reasons set forth in treating of the preceding number, we might fairly reduce the future estimates for—

Repairs of fortifications, to	...	£18,500
" of Ordnance civil buildings, to	...	9,000
		<u>£27,500</u>

The repairs of barracks require a little more consideration.

We are informed by the Committee* that the average cost of barracks for the infantry is £100 per man, including accommodations.

The existing barracks, in the United Kingdom and the Colonies are constructed for 150,728 soldiers,† and if these were all infantry, the cost would be £15,000,000; but we will take it at £16,000,000; and upon buildings of this value £134,366 seems rather exorbitant. Few house

* *Vide* Report, page xli.

† *Vide* Report, page xl.

proprietors on a large scale have occasion to spend one-half per cent. a-year upon the value of construction, on their properties, exclusively of ornamental repairs, of which none of course are required in the barracks. Then, again, it is not to be believed that the average of £100 per man can apply to the whole quantity of barracks in the United Kingdom and Colonies, for it is a sheer impossibility that fifteen or sixteen millions can have been spent upon these constructions.

If anything besides were wanting to prove the truth of this conclusion, it would be demonstrated by a comparison with the estimates of every year from 1833 to 1836, among which the largest amount devoted to repairs *and construction* of barracks is £125,000.

If in some branches of expenditure, that with regard to Ordnance stores, for example, it may be argued that the so often quoted year 1835 was economical, because it fed upon resources already created, and that the future was sacrificed for the present, surely this same argument will not apply to *repairs*, whether of barracks or of other edifices. If a roof falls in, it must be repaired *instantly*; if a lock is out of order, it must be set to rights. The evil day in such matters can scarcely ever be put off, and but very little advantage can be taken of past accumulations, in order to diminish present expense.

Upon these grounds it is fair to assume that £100,000 a-year would be sufficient for the mere repairs of the barracks as they now stand, and £50,000 for those which would be necessary for the diminished establishment:—and if this sum be added to the £27,500 estimated above as sufficient for repairs of fortifications and Ordnance civil buildings, we shall have £77,500 as the total expense of repairs.

Thus, the No. 1, instead of	£290,836	would be	£92,500
No. 2,	40,165	„	21,500
No. 3,	177,204	„	77,500

And the total, instead of	<u>£508,205</u>	„	<u>£191,500</u>
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Even this sum, reduced as it is, would still be £20,000 more than the estimate for 1837; but, as at the expiration of six years the works now in hand would be completed, and the annual vote of £75,000 cease, the ordinary expenditure would be reduced to £116,500, or, taking a certain margin for contingencies consequent upon these new works themselves, to £130,000.

REWARDS FOR MILITARY SERVICES.

Concerning the next item, of rewards for military service, it is unnecessary to make any observation. In the first place, its amount is small; and in the second, its character is purely temporary.

ARMY PAY OF GENERAL OFFICERS.

The army pay of general officers would be reduced at least in proportion to the general diminution of the force kept up; that is to say, a full half, or from £90,000 to £45,000. It would even become still less, if proper measures were taken to reduce the relative number of general officers.

NON-EFFECTIVE SERVICES.

The expenditure for the non-effective service can necessarily admit of no reduction, but from the decease of the parties participating in the money so expended. However disastrous it may be to the national resources to have upwards of two millions a-year to pay to officers and men of one branch of the public service who do nothing in return for that outlay, it would be still more disastrous to the national honor if a pledge once given were not redeemed. It may only be recommended to use very great caution as to the proofs given of the existence of the recipients, for it does seem a most startling fact, and an anomaly in the probabilities of life, that there should be, for example, upwards of sixty thousand pensioners of Chelsea Hospital from an army which, for the last thirty years, has seldom been double that number.

Another recommendation might be made as with regard to the navy, namely, that officers after a certain age should be put compulsorily on the half-pay or on a retired list. This suggestion would apply more particularly to the Ordnance corps, where promotion takes place only from seniority, so that the upper grades can only be reached at a very advanced age; and among the Royal Engineers, the senior colonel-commandant was eighty-four years old; the colonels-commandant were from seventy-two to eighty-one; the colonels from fifty-nine to sixty-three; and the lieutenant-colonels from fifty-five to sixty-two.*

If the above suggestions are, as we believe them to be, susceptible of a practical application, the Army, Ordnance, and Commissariat expenditure would stand thus:—

Forces, and general staff officers	...	...	...	2,270,430
Public departments	...	...	...	70,000
Educational and scientific establishments	...	...	...	131,550
Volunteer corps	...	...	...	66,300
Commissariat and barrack supplies	...	...	...	375,500
Establishments in the United Kingdom and Colonies	...	...	...	241,500
Wages of artificers	...	...	...	40,000
Ordnance stores, and wages of artificers employed to make them	...	...	...	100,000
Carried forward				£3,295,280

* *Vide* evidence of Sir J. F. Burgoyne. Answer to question 1281. How detrimental this must be to the service may be judged from Lord Hardinge's evidence before the Finance Committee of 1828 (page 44), in his answer to the following question:—"If the artillery were to be called into active service, would the captains of those companies enumerated by you be able to go into the service with them, or would you have to appoint fresh officers?" To which he replied—"I conceive the mischief to the artillery corps is so great from the slowness of promotion, and from the want of energy which that slowness generates, that I conceive when the artillery officer has obtained his commission, he is indifferent and careless in qualifying himself further for his profession. *During the peninsular war we were obliged to take a captain of artillery to assume the command of the whole of the artillery. Thus, a captain had a lieutenant-general's command, having about 8,000 men, and 3,000 or 4,000 horses, undertaking the sieges in Spain, and the management of the artillery in the field. The greater part are unfit for the active service of the profession when they arrive at that rank which would have entitled them to assume the relative command with officers of the line. I have another instance in the case of Sir George Wood, who commanded the artillery at the battle of Waterloo.*"—Captain E. T. Grant, of the Royal Artillery, examined by the Committee of Inquiry of last year, expressed his entire concurrence with this opinion. (*Vide Answer to Question 8903*).

Brought forward	...	...	...	£3,295,280
Ordnance and barracks, new works and repairs	...	...	...	191,500
Rewards for military service	...	...	...	15,320
Army pay of general officers	...	...	...	45,000
Total effective services	...	...	...	3,547,100
Non-effective services	...	...	...	2,225,300
Total military expenditure	...	...	...	<u>£5,772,400</u>

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

The Miscellaneous Estimates, as shown in detail, pages 17 to 25, may be divided into the following heads :—

Public buildings.	Art and science.
Public departments.	Consular establishment.
Printing and stationery.	Colonial expenditure.
Law and justice.	Superannuation allowances.
Prisons and convicts.	Special and temporary objects.
Education.	

The detailed expenditure under the first head is as follows :—

	Vote 1847-8.	Vote 1848-9.	Estimate 1849-50.
	£	£	£
New Houses of Parliament	150,000 *17,709 3,515	120,000 *4,234	109,900 *3,284
Repairs of public buildings, furniture, &c.	117,989 †11,435	120,923	103,467
Buckingham Palace	50,000	30,000	14,200
Palm-house at Kew	5,500	8,410	...
Works in the Isle of Man	...	4,050	...
Holyhead Harbour	4,429	12,792	45,771
British Museum	47,959	42,038	36,288
Harbours of Refuge	140,000	181,000	141,500
Lybite Harbour	...	...	3,000
Public buildings in Ireland	20,476	23,167	24,233
Kingstown Harbour	8,200	8,100	9,550
Nelson Monument	...	2,000	2,800
Caledonian Canal	50,000	...	10,000
Light-house at Barbadoes	...	2,000	7,300
Portpatrick Harbour	10,000	...	...
	£ 637,212	£508,714	£511,293

* The sums marked thus are for providing temporary accommodation.

† This sum was for taking down and rebuilding Home Office.

This most probably does not represent the whole expense of the above works, since the value of the convict labor employed upon them is not included in the votes or estimates. What the money-worth of that labor may be it is impossible to say, but without doubt it is much less than it might be, and ought to be.

Then again, the total figure of expenditure under this head would be still farther increased by the sums paid out of the Consolidated Fund, and out of the crown land revenues, the taxes, and post-office receipts, which, as shown in pages 12 to 15, amounted altogether to upwards of £90,000 in the year 1847-8, and £85,000 in 1848-9 for new works; and to £280,000 in the former year, and £178,000 in the latter for repairs, &c.; these last sums being taken from the *charges of collection* as well as from *payments out of revenue in its progress to the Exchequer*.

The aggregate amount, even without these additions, is undoubtedly large, and yet it is one which a good patriot would be less disposed to quarrel with than many other items of expense, provided the monuments erected were worthy of the nation, and corresponded to the outlay. It is, nevertheless, much beyond what the financial circumstances of the country warrant, and Government cannot be too much blamed for having begun so many public works, by which the nation is in some respect pledged to a certain prospective outlay, and placed in the dilemma either of throwing away the money already spent, or of paying considerable sums more to complete the works commenced.

Already, in the year 1838, Government had undertaken the following works :—

New Houses of Parliament, which will cost	
before completed	£2,000,000
British Museum, at least	400,000
Kingstown Harbour	800,000
Holyhead Harbour	200,000
Total	£3,400,000

This sum was of itself sufficiently enormous, and yet a few years afterwards the nation was again committed, through the executive, to the construction of the undermentioned works :—

Buckingham Palace improvements	£150,000
Harbours of Refuge—Harwich	£114,000
Dover	234,000
Portland	560,000
Channel Islands	200,000
Making	£1,258,000

To which may be added considerably more than £2,000,000 for new works in the Ordnance department, and for the dockyards and factories at Keyham, Woolwich, Portsmouth, &c., under the direction of the Admiralty, making altogether about four millions of new works begun within a

few years of each other, independently of what remained of the first £3,400,000; so that the maximum responsibility must have been as high as seven millions at one time for *new works* of various descriptions, exclusively of the repairs of *existing* public buildings. No one will contend that this was not, to say the least of it, a most imprudent and dangerous way of acting, on the part of Government.

At present there is no alternative left but to complete most of the new works now in hand, but the rage for new undertakings should be stopped, and more particularly for building new offices. The French proverb, "*L'appetit vient en mangeant*," may be applied to our civil as well as to our military constructors. New offices are erected in order to admit new functionaries; and it is to be feared that new functionaries may be created sometimes to occupy the new offices.

One thing is certain, that if there were no accommodation for the ever-increasing army of public servants—the tendency to swell their numbers would be restrained; and as it a very good principle in these matters to let well alone, especially since no alleged improvement can take place without an increased expense to the nation, one of the best means of enforcing compliance with the salutary maxim above quoted, would be the interdiction of all constructions that would tend to give additional elbow-room to our *bureaucratie*.

For the most considerable works, the account stands as follows :—

	Original Estimate,	Voted up to April, 1850.	Remains to be voted.			
Buckingham Palace -	£150,000	£114,200	£35,800, say	£18,000	a year for 2 years.	
New Houses of Parliament -	1,400,000	1,074,600	325,400	160,000	"	2 years.
Works not included in original estimate—probably -	600,000	..	600,000	..	"	4 years longer.
Harbours of Refuge -	1,108,000	562,500	545,500	140,000	"	4 years.
Holyhead Harbour -	628,063	175,271	452,792	50,000*	"	7 years.
Kingstown Harbour -	801,159	690,717	110,442	10,000	"	11 years.
	<u>£4,687,222</u>	<u>£2,617,288</u>	<u>£2,069,934</u>	<u>£378,000</u>		
		Unforeseen -	-	22,000		
		Total -	-	-	£400,000	

The annual vote might then be reduced after four years, and it would rest with the legislature to proportion the future undertakings to the financial exigencies of the country. And considering the gross incapacity that has been shown in the conduct of most of our national works, more particularly those which concern the naval service, as well as the invariable manner in which the cost exceeds the original estimate beyond all proportion, it may be presumed that future Houses of Commons will not readily give their assent to any new public works.

But if the amount expended on new works calls for reprehension, that employed in repairs and furniture merits a much severer censure. Opinions may be divided upon the expediency of undertaking a new construction, but once determined upon, it must evidently entail an increase of expenditure, whether the Government be a thrifty or a pro-

* Making allowance for the proportion to be contributed by the Chester and Holyhead Railway Company.

digal one. With works executed upon buildings actually existing, the case is widely different. The progress of construction is so slow and so nearly balanced by that of decay and demolition, that the *number* of public buildings cannot increase fast in a legitimate way, and when the expenditure incurred upon them increases materially, it will generally occur through some of those architectural caprices which make the Admiralty turn steamers into sailing-vessels, and sailing-vessels into steamers, and which it is so agreeable to indulge—when not at our own expense.

In 1835, the vote under this head was but £41,200, and in 1838, £74,986. Can any reason be given why it should have been £120,000 in 1848, and £103,000 in 1849, except the one we have just alluded to, that much more has been done than was strictly necessary to keep the buildings in repair; and that the authorities in charge of this department have either indulged their own fancies, or through a blameable complaisance, have allowed the parties interested to consult their taste and convenience to a degree incompatible with a due regard to the public weal?

Unfortunately, the proof of this presumption is to be found in the estimates themselves.

The estimate for works and repairs to the royal palaces for the year 1848–9, which was handed over to the Treasury, was £67,027, and was reduced at the Treasury by £22,000, or 33 per cent.; that for other public buildings was £50,704, and was only reduced by £880, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. How then does it just happen that in a long chapter of proposed repairs to public buildings, the Treasury makes scarcely any reduction, while upon that for royal palaces, nearly a third is taken off? The conclusion to every dispassionate person must be obvious: in the one case, there was no court favor to be obtained by the framers of the original estimates, in the other there was.

But if the general result be sufficient to produce conviction, how much will that conviction be strengthened by an examination of the details.

Out of respect for the sovereign, we will pass rapidly by those that concern the Royal Person itself; but the reader has only to go through the estimates as printed in the appendix to the report of the committee, and he will find no end of demands for St. James's, Windsor Castle, the Home Park, the house and kitchen-garden at Frogmore, &c. He will see, *inter alia*, £6,355 asked for vineries, asparagus-pits, warming apparatus, &c., and disallowed *in toto* by the Treasury.

One important item of expense again, is that of repairs to apartments of which the permissive occupation is allowed by the crown. Now the avowed principle concerning this occupation is, that the apartments shall be kept in good ornamental repair by the occupier, which is no more nor less than the ordinary condition between landlord and tenant. It is what Mr. Milne, Commissioner of the Woods and Forests, distinctly declares. "When a set of rooms," says he, "is allotted to any individual, they are put in repair; they are cleansed, papered, and painted, and after that, all the internal repairs are required to be done at the expense of the occupier, the external portions of the building being maintained at the expense of the public." (*See Answer to Question 2653.*)

(Question 2654.) "What do you mean by internal repairs?"—
 "Papering, painting, and whitewashing."

(Question 2655.) "I find in the paper which you have given in, a considerable expense incurred for painting and whitewashing; is that external?"—"That is *internal* repair, painting and whitewashing."

Now, it is almost superfluous to notice a very glaring contradiction between the answer to questions 2653 and 2654, and that to question 2655, as indeed between the different parts of the answer to question 2653 itself.

If the internal repairs, papering, &c., are to be executed by the occupier, surely there can be nothing *considerable*, as stated in question 2655, to be done by the public; and the suspicion involuntarily forces itself upon us that the principle laid down and the exception are the two sides of a picture; that when the occupant who claims internal repairs is an obscure unrecommended individual, the former is presented to him; while if he be influential or in favor, he has the benefit of the latter.

But, in order that the reader may judge for himself, we will lay before him some of the items which we prefer extracting from the estimates for 1848, because they have been fully discussed and analyzed by the Committee of Inquiry, and can therefore be more readily commented upon than those for 1849, which have not passed through the same ordeal.

Lady Jocelyn's house—for the thorough repair, including whitewashing, painting, and papering		£1,500
The restoration of Mrs. Ellice's apartments, part of £5,000 demanded for general repairs to Hampton Court Palace		2,500
Repairs of, and fitting up apartments as they became vacant		700
Ditto Sir George Quintin's house		350
Ditto Mr. Acton's house and offices, with new double gates		80
		£5,130

It is to be observed that the Treasury, which certainly cannot be considered as adverse to the Court, only allowed the first of these items, reduced the two following, and struck out the two last altogether. And it is fair also to remark, that in Lady Jocelyn's case, we are told the repairs were external as well as internal, and in Mrs. Ellice's the real object was repairing a beam; but what part of the £1,500 may have been fairly required for the external repairs of a house of no great dimensions, and what portion of the £2,500 may have been called for by a beam that had given way, we leave the reader to judge; and as the Crown has, besides the houses above mentioned, three in Richmond Park and the ranger's house in Greenwich Park, he may calculate what are the probabilities of future expense. If he be maliciously disposed, he may perhaps think there is some connection between the post in the

royal household held by Lady Jocelyn and the rather suspicious figure for repairs of her house.

Two other items that deserve particular attention, are £150 demanded for repairs of a house belonging also to the Crown, and inhabited by the Duke of Cambridge, though appropriated to the King of Hanover; £80 for repairs to the lodge of another house appropriated to the same person, and £650 for repairs of the house itself.

People will surely be at a loss to decide which is the most remarkable, the culpable complaisance of a minister who asks for this money, the negligence of a House of Commons which grants it, or the shamelessness of the foreign prince who accepts it; for a house* which, to render the case still more flagrant, has been occupied by servants alone, and has only been otherwise inhabited when this prince came over to England himself; and let us add, to complete the scandal, that this same foreign prince does not blush at receiving a pension of £21,000 from the country. For the honor of the Treasury, we ought to observe that the £80 was reduced to £50, and the £650 to £180.

For the sake of avoiding prolixity, we will only notice two other items. *Ex his disce omnes.*

The first is a sum of £800 allowed to the late Princess Sophia in lieu of apartments at Kensington Palace. Now, if these apartments were promised to Her Royal Highness, it was fair to fulfil the promise, and allow her to inhabit them gratuitously, but this was essentially a grant to be paid *in kind*; it was not a general permission to have a house at the public expense, but to have an apartment rent free at *Kensington Palace*; and in asking for £800 because it suited her convenience to live elsewhere, the Government have been guilty of a grave dereliction of public duty,—the more so since Her Royal Highness was in receipt of a pension of £16,000 a year.

Surely such a course of proceeding is little calculated to render royalty respectable, or to restore the faith in it so much shaken in these days.

The next item is one of £260, reduced by the Treasury to £50, for providing new doors, &c. for a stable at Windsor Park—for Prince Albert the reader will doubtless imagine; but no—it is for Prince Albert's secretary! Now it appears to us, that when demands like these are introduced, people are led to ask whether it be a necessary appendage to His Royal Highness' secretary to have a stud whose requirements in the way of new doors, racks, &c. extend to £260 in one year? and, secondly, whether the income allotted to the Prince by the liberality of the nation might not suffice to pay that expense?

The courtiers who force upon people's minds these very natural reflections, are the very worst enemies that royalty can have. For our own parts, we are convinced that His Royal Highness has not the remotest idea that the nation is paying the cost of new fittings for the stables of his secretary, and conceives that that officer, like other secretaries, defrays the expenses of his horses out of the salary which he receives for his services.

To sum up all in a word, let this system of condescension be ex-

* The last named of the two.

changed for a wholesome severity ; let ornamental repairs and additions be excluded, and the expenditure charged on the budget be confined to what is strictly necessary to keep up the buildings *existing*, and there can be no reason why the annual outlay should not be kept within the limit of 1835—or between forty and fifty thousand a year, which, added to the £400,000 for new works, would make £450,000.

PRINTING AND STATIONERY.

The vote taken last year for these objects was £302,362 ; this year it has been reduced to £277,762, or £270,762, after deducting the proceeds of Parliamentary Papers sold. The vote for 1835-6 was £191,756.

The main cause of the increase is alleged to be the increase of the business transacted in the public departments.

If the reductions proposed in the foregoing and following pages were to be effected, it is evident that the business to be transacted would be below that of 1835 instead of above it ; therefore, at the very least, the difference of £79,000 between that year's vote and the present one, might certainly be gained for the public with the greatest ease.

But two more expedients may be suggested for effecting savings under this head, which were not resorted to in 1835. The first is, that in the transaction of public business, the persons employed should not be compelled to follow rules which their own common sense would not allow them to observe in their private affairs ; and in accordance with this maxim, it may be urged that the public officers should communicate verbally much more frequently than they do at present. They would insure thereby a saving in money, and a still greater one in point of time.

In the various departments of a banking establishment, or a large solicitor's house, we do not see that the different branches write letters to one another. The town-office does not correspond with the country one, nor does the conveyancing clerk exchange letters with the Chancery or Common-law clerk. In their communications with clients, it is often found more convenient to send a clerk, or messenger, than to write : there is no invariable rule for either mode of acting.

What holds good for private affairs, holds as good for public business. There is no reason why the Under Secretary for the Home Department should not send a clerk to the Under Secretary of the Colonial Department, requesting such and such information. There should be no rule laid down, whether to communicate by writing or verbally ; but most assuredly, time and paper would be saved, if the secretaries and superior clerks would act in that respect exactly as if they were transacting their own business.

The next useful innovation, or rather return to a practice now discontinued, would be to abstain from printing *in extenso* the minutes of evidence and appendices to Reports of Committees of the Houses of Parliament and Commissions under Government.

We have for this opinion no less an authority than Mr. J. R. MacCulloch, head of the Stationery Department. That gentleman being asked, "From your observations, do you think that there is unnecessary

printing incurred by these Commissions?" replied, "Yes, more than half is unnecessary." (*Question 910*).

And again (*Question 912*), "But generally, do not you imagine that greater expense is incurred by printing voluminous appendices to reports which attract very little attention, and are very seldom perused?"—"Yes, they seem to *weigh down the report*. The report is ordinarily very short, and then a great quantity of what appears irrelevant evidence is added to it."

Mr. Vardon tells us the same thing, as may be seen from the following extract of his evidence.

"Does it seem to you that there might be any reduction of the expense of printing for the House of Commons?"—"There might be a considerable reduction, by adopting the practice of merely printing the reports of Committees without the evidence which they have taken, under their powers to send for persons, papers, and records."—(*Question 1040*).

"That is not the present practice?"—"It used to be often formerly the practice." (*Question 1041*).

"What date do you allude to when you say formerly?"—"Before 1828. I should think on the average, the Committees which sat before 1828, did not take a tithe of the evidence which is now taken." (*Question 1042*).

"The reports only were printed?"—"Yes; at an earlier date they were printed in the Journals. The beginning of the great expense in printing the evidence taken before Select Committees, arose when the practice was adopted of printing the evidence from day to day for the use of the members of the Committee. It was said, The type is set up and therefore it will be a very little additional expense to print the evidence for the House. Formerly the Committees sat for a specific purpose, and the evidence was often kept in manuscript, or the Committees reported their opinion to the House without reporting the evidence which they took. Now it is the universal course to print the whole of the evidence taken before the Committees." (*Question 1043*).

"The reports were of greater length, and there was a *précis* of the evidence which had been taken?"—"Yes; formerly it was a very rare thing to present a mass of evidence with only three lines at the beginning as the report of the Committee, *stating that no report would be made, but that has lately been the case frequently. Committees have printed evidence containing 1,000 pages without reporting any opinion.*" (*Question 1044*).

"And the Committee reporting no opinion?"—"No." (*Question 1045*).

"That has arisen from the course adopted by the House?"—"Yes." (*Question 1046*).

When we contemplate the enormous mass of parliamentary papers printed every year, each session furnishing wherewith to fill a library, and when we consider the impossibility of any person wading through a tithe of these numerous documents, we naturally shrink before the task of collecting information, which must necessarily be incomplete, what-

ever may be the subject of our researches. But when we find that this quantity of papers is worse than useless, even for their more immediate object, and that the Committees, instead of laying before the House a report containing their own opinions on the subjects submitted to their investigation, are tempted, by the facility of printing the minutes of evidence, to present in place of such opinions, a mass of crude and undigested materials for the House itself to work upon, must we not conclude that such a proceeding is a very great abuse of a useful art?

The printing done for the Committees of the Houses of Parliament averages at least £8,000 a year; and as the greater part of this might be saved by keeping the minutes of evidence in manuscript,—and as, on the other hand, a very considerable saving might be effected, not only through the reduction of the national establishments, but from the simpler mode of transacting business recommended above,—it does not seem to be taking an exaggerated view of the case if we suppose that a diminution of some £30,000 upon the expenditure of 1835 might be realised, which would leave £160,000 as the normal expenditure for printing and stationery.

SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS.

On this formidable question of salaries we shall have much to say, both as to the needfulness of a number of public servants, and as to the scale of salaries paid.

But, first of all, it must be premised that the items under this head which appear in the Miscellaneous Services, are far from comprising the total amount paid by the State. A very considerable sum is paid out of the Consolidated Fund, and out of the revenue, before it arrives into the Exchequer, whether as charges of collection, or under the specious title of *Payments out of revenue in its progress to the Exchequer*.

The total amount is as follows:—

INCLUDED IN MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	1848.	1849.
Two Houses of Parliament	£30,000 0 0 ...	£31,650 0 0*
Treasury	57,700 0 0 ...	54,100 0 0*
Secretary of State for Home Department	18,700 0 0 ...	14,900 0 0*
Do. Foreign do.	72,500 0 0 ...	66,500 0 0*
Do. Colonial do.	27,461 0 0 ...	27,400 0 0*
Solicitor's office, Treasury ...	19,000 0 0† ...	16,000 0 0†
Privy Council offices, and Board of Trade	39,000 0 0 ...	42,200 0 0*
Carried forward ...	£264,361 0 0	£252,750 0 0

* The sums marked thus are not the same as those in pages 18 and 19. The difference arises from the fees and profits received in those different offices, which, as explained above, were deducted from the estimates in 1848, but not in 1849.

† The £10,000 excess of expenditure, 1848, are added to the former year, and deducted from the latter.

Brought forward ...	£264,361	0	0	...	£252,750	0	0
Lord Privy Seal ...	2,000	0	0	...	2,000	0	0
Paymaster-general ..	29,694	0	0	...	*22,243	0	0
Exchequer, and Paymaster of Civil Services ...	6,606	0	0	...	6,626	0	0
State Paper office ...	2,680	0	0	...	2,700	0	0
Ecclesiastical Commissioners, England ...	3,540	0	0	...	3,540	0	0
Poor-law Commissioners ...	101,035	0	0†	...	†91,492	0	0
„ Auditors of Unions ...	13,000	0	0	...	13,000	0	0
„ Schoolmasters ...	35,000	0	0	...	35,000	0	0
„ Medical relief ...	85,000	0	0	...	85,000	0	0
Mint, including coinage ...	50,268	0	0	...	45,194	0	0
Railway department ...	10,670	0	0	...	7,996	0	0
Public records ...	14,023	0	0	...	12,822	0	0
Inspectors and superintend- ents of factories ...	12,514	0	0	...	11,879	0	0
Offices in Scotland ...	1,755	0	0	...	1,755	0	0
Household of Lord Lieu- tenant in Ireland ...	6,464	0	0	...	6,464	0	0
Chief Secretary and Council- office, Ireland ...	22,658	0	0	...	*22,431	0	0
Paymaster of Civil Services, Ireland ...	5,546	0	0	...	5,596	0	0
Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland ...	40,800	0	0	...	39,562	0	0
	<u>707,614</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	...	<u>668,050</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

INCLUDED IN CHARGE ON THE
CONSOLIDATED FUND.

South Wales Turnpike Com- mission ...	814	13	4	...	.....		
Deputy-barristers in Ireland	367	10	0	...	.....		
West India Clergy ...	20,300	0	0	...	20,300	0	0
Commissioners for auditing public accounts ...	51,734	1	1	...	52,471	16	7
Ditto of National Debt ...	12,850	0	0	...	13,610	0	0
Ditto of Tithes ...	29,431	14	4	...	27,450	0	4
Ditto Copyhold ...	2,800	0	0	...	2,845	0	0
Ditto Inclosures ...	10,795	9	1	...	18,123	3	6
Ditto Lunacy ...	12,652	0	8	...	12,830	3	0
Ditto of Metropolitan Po- lice ...	2,400	0	0	...	2,400	0	0
Carried forward ...	<u>£851,759</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	...	<u>£818,080</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>

* See note (*), page 98.

† The excess of expenditure, 1847 (£17,473), is deducted in the first column; that of 1848 (£15,508) is added in the first column, and deducted in the second.

Brought forward ...	£851,759	8	6	...	£818,080	3	5
Board of Education, Ireland	600	10	2	...	601	0	7
Board of Charitable Bequests	1,016	19	0	...	1,150	0	0
Speaker of the House of Commons ...	5,000	0	0	...	5,000	0	0
Inspectors of Anatomy ...	1,355	0	0	...	1,350	0	0
Lord Monteagle, Comptroller of the Exchequer ...	2,000	0	0	...	2,000	0	0
Keeper of the Lions in the Tower ...	206	0	0	...	206	0	0
Keeper of the Tennis Court	83	0	0	...	83	0	0
Registrar-general of births, deaths, and marriages ...	37,613	19	6	...	40,460	6	9
Expenses in the office for issue of Exchequer-bills for public works ...	1,500	0	0	...	1,270	0	0
Comptroller of the Mint ...	289	10	0	...	289	10	0
Paymaster of Civil Services in Ireland ...	1,000	0	0	...	1,000	0	0
Office of metropolitan buildings ...	3,000	0	0	...	4,096	0	1
County Treasurers... ..	7,812	14	9	...	9,800	0	0
Ambassadors and their suite	140,000	0	0	...	140,000	0	0
Master of the Rolls ...	7,000	0	0	...	7,000	0	0
Vice-Chancellor ...	6,000	0	0	...	6,000	0	0
Two Chief Justices, Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, £8,000 each ...	16,000	0	0	...	16,000	0	0
Eight Puisne Judges at £5000 each ...	40,000	0	0	...	40,000	0	0
Chief Baron of the Exchequer ...	7,000	0	0	...	7,000	0	0
Four Barons at £5,000 each	20,000	0	0	...	20,000	0	0
Cursitor Baron ...	243	0	0	...	243	0	0
Judge of the Court of Admiralty ...	4,000	0	0	...	4,000	0	0
Assistant Judge, Court of Session ...	1,200	0	0	...	1,200	0	0
Police Courts ...	35,557	8	1	...	36,037	9	0
Clerks of the Hanaper in the Court of Chancery ...	5,000	0	0	...	2,095	0	0
Clerk of the Patents in ditto	400	0	0	...	400	0	0
Clerk of the Crown in ditto	1,000	0	0	...	1,000	0	0
Crown office ...	4,629	16	3	...	4,654	9	6
Registering Barristers ...	17,850	0	0	...	17,850	0	0
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	8,000	0	0	...	8,000	0	0
Five Masters ...	15,586	6	8	...	15,586	6	8
Carried forward ...	£1,242,703	12	11		£1,212,452	6	0

Brought forward	...	£1,242,703	12	11	...	£1,212,452	6	0
Officers of the Court	...	4,616	16	9	...	4,471	11	3
Chief Justice, Queen's Bench	...	5,074	9	4	...	5,074	9	4
Three Judges	...	10,918	11	8	...	11,103	4	0
Officers and clerks	...	6,958	2	0	...	6,958	2	0
Chief Justice, Common Pleas	...	4,612	18	8	...	4,612	18	8
Three Judges £3,688 12s. 4d. each	...	11,065	17	0	...	11,065	17	0
Officers and clerks	...	5,269	7	8	...	5,269	7	8
Chief Baron, Exchequer	...	4,612	18	8	...	4,612	18	8
Three Barons, £3688 12s. 4d. each	...	11,065	17	0	...	11,065	17	0
Three Examiners	...	3,464	3	1	...	3,625	10	3
Officers and clerks	...	6,296	12	0	...	6,271	2	0
Chief Serjeant-at-arms, deficiency of fees	...	1,437	12	1	...	1,437	12	1
Two Taxing-masters in Common Law	...	2,215	8	0	...	2,215	8	0
Clerk in Common Law	...	200	0	0	...	200	0	0
Judge of Prerogative Court	...	3,000	0	0	...	3,000	0	0
Clerk of the Court of Errors	...	266	18	8	...	266	18	8
Two Commissioners of the Court of Appeal	...	1,473	9	4	...	1,473	9	4
Two ditto of Insolvent Debtors' Court	...	3,692	6	8	...	3,692	6	8
Do. travelling expenses	...	718	0	0	...	992	16	0
Do. salaries and contingent expenses	...	3,896	16	9	...	3,862	17	2
Judge of the Court of Admiralty	...	500	0	0	...	500	0	0
Judges attending Special Commissioners	...	.....	...	...	...	5,000	0	0
Thirty-two Assistant Barristers for counties	...	15,026	5	7	...	15,027	11	4
Registrars to the Judges	...	5,232	10	0	...	5,232	10	0
Two Inspectors of Prisons	...	1,071	0	0	...	1,071	0	0
Marshal of the Four Courts, Marshalsea	...	870	8	8	...	870	8	8
Inspector of ditto, and contingent expenses	...	1,283	19	4	...	1,239	15	11
Chaplain and surgeon	...	267	4	0	...	267	4	0
Two police justices	...	1,600	0	0	...	1,600	0	0
Constabulary police, Ireland	...	485,924	0	0	...	551,850	0	0
Carried forward	...	£1,845,335	5	10	...	£1,886,383	1	8

Brought forward ...	£1,845,335	5	10	...	£1,886,383	1	8
INCLUDED IN PAYMENTS OUT OF CUSTOMS AND EXCISE REVENUES, IN THEIR PRO- GRESS TO THE EXCHEQUER.							
Deputy Clerk register ...	462	10	0	...	462	10	0
Lord Justice-general, Presi- dent of Court of Session	4,800	0	0	...	4,800	0	0
Lord Justice, Clerk and Pre- sident of second division of Court of Session ...	4,500	0	0	...	4,500	0	0
Eleven Lords of the Session, £3,000 each ...	33,000	0	0	...	33,200	0	0
Late President of Court of Session ...	3,600	0	0	...	3,600	0	0
Two late Lords of Session...	3,750	0	0	...	3,750	0	0
Lord Commissioner of Jury Court ...	2,400	0	0	...	2,400	0	0
Clerk ...	800	0	0	...	.....		
Three clerks ...	650	0	0	...	345	13	0
Seven macers, Court of Session ...	760	0	0	} ...	1,072	3	5
Two gown-keepers ...	160	0	0				
Five Clerks of Justiciary ...	623	15	0				
Three macers of do. ...	95	0	0	} ...	713	15	0
Lord Chief Baron of Ex- chequer ...	2,000	0	0				
Auditor of Exchequer ...	1,110	0	0	} ...	5,201	11	5
Three clerks ...	875	0	0				
Queen and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer ...	870	0	0				
Do. to defray expenses ...	600	0	0				
Four clerks ...	770	0	0				
Presenter of signatures in Exchequer ...	300	0	0				
Ushers and macers ...	530	0	0				
Lord Advocate ...	1,387	10	0	...	1,387	10	0
Queen's solicitor ...	555	0	0	...	555	0	0
Two Commissioners of Edin- burgh ...	1,200	0	0				
Lord Clerk Register ...	1,000	0	0	...	1,000	0	0
Lyon King of Arms ...	555	0	0	...	555	0	0
Twelve Heralds and Pour- suivants ...	250	0	0	...	250	0	0
Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal ...	2,775	0	0	...	2,775	0	0
Sheriff of Edinburgh ...	1,200	0	0	...	983	12	9
Sheriff of Lanark ...	1,200	0	0	...	1,000	0	0
Carried forward ...	£1,918,114	0	10		£1,956,934	17	3

Brought over	...	£1,918,114	0	10	...	£1,956,934	17	3
Twenty-eight Sheriffs, from £300 to £500 each	...	9,350	0	0	...	8,941	0	7
Sixty substitutes from, £150 to £500 each	...	22,771	0	0	...	20,794	10	11
Eleven late substitutes	...	...	...	...	...	2,518	4	8
Eight Lords of Justiciary, at £150 to £200 per circuit	...	2,120	0	0	}	3,553	0	6
Advocate Deputies, at £50 per circuit	...	300	0	0				
Clerks, macers, and trumpeters	...	1,010	0	0				
Augmentation of stipend to Clergy in Scotland	...	17,823	17	3	...	16,851	5	7
Totals	...	£1,971,489	18	1	...	£2,009,592	19	6

Independently of this large amount, a sum of two millions yearly, as we have seen in pages 10 and 11, is paid away in salaries and office expenses out of the revenue, under the head of charges of collection, &c. Of this sum no particulars are given to the public; and we can, in consequence, only make an analysis of the above £2,009,592 19s. 6d., from which should be deducted £551,850 for constabulary police, that belong more properly to wages, leaving nearly a million and a half for salaries and some contingent office expenses. But to this again must be added nearly two millions and a half of salaries in the Army, Navy, and Ordnance departments, and this gives in round numbers a total of four millions of which an account can be made out.

One of the first peculiarities that must strike the reader in examining the above statement, is the profusion of boards and commissions. There are—

The Admiralty Board.
The Treasury Board.
The Board of Trade.
The Board of Ordnance.
Poor Law Board.
Commissioners of Woods & Forests.
Commissioners of Inland Revenue.
Ecclesiastical Commissioners.
Railway Commissioners.
Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland.

Commissioners for Auditing Public Accounts.
Commissioners of National Debt.
Commissioners of Tithes.
Inclosure Commissioners.
Lunacy Commissioners.
Police Commissioners.
Board of Education in Ireland.
Board of Emigration.
Board of Charitable Bequests.

Besides several others which are not paid directly by votes, or from the Consolidated Fund, and besides the newly created Board of Health and the Commissioners for carrying into execution the law for facilitating the sale of encumbered estates in Ireland, which was passed last session.

If these commissions were appointed by the people like most local boards, there would be a set-off against the cumbersomeness of the machinery in the increased liberty to the subject, and in the homage paid to the principle of self-government. As it is, however, the multiplicity of officers is only an additional arm in the hands of the executive, and a source of patronage to the crown.

Many of these boards are of recent institution, and furnish an evidence of the tendency to centralization, which has been gaining ground of late years, and is deeply to be lamented, as the continual development of this disposition to interfere with and control local government—which is confessedly the chief element and mainspring of English freedom—would certainly be felt one day in a manner most injurious to the liberties of the country.

But independently of these objections, there are other and very serious ones to be raised on the score of inefficiency and expense. There is but one of the more important boards which appears practically to work well, and that is the Treasury. The reason of this is, that the word *board* becomes almost nominal, as the whole power is in fact vested in the first Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer; the junior lords being virtually no more than simple secretaries.

In order to appreciate the efficiency of a real board we may take the Admiralty, whose members have distinct departments with respect to which their word is taken upon trust, and who are not much under the control of the First Lord—nor can be so, since he is scarcely ever a naval officer, and is therefore practically unacquainted with most of the matters that come before the board. In this department we see the effect of disseminated action uncontrolled by one responsible head; we see ships built that cannot sail; dockyards made on the lee-shore instead of the weather-shore, that can only be entered at spring tide, and not even then without exposing the vessels to damage; faults, in fine, of so glaring a nature that they would evidently have been avoided by any person ignorant of nautical affairs, but merely gifted with a little common sense; and yet they are committed, day after day, by men who have made such matters the study of their lives, till the Admiralty has become renowned, throughout the length and breadth of the land, for incapacity and extravagance. Schemes are taken up by the different Lords with the understanding—“Let my hobby be carried through, and I will throw no impediment in the way of yours.” Hence the numberless failures—hence the never ceasing experiments, as bootless as they are costly.

Now if the originators of the schemes were also responsible for their success, they would no doubt study them a little more profoundly, and consider the means of carrying them into execution, and their practical effect when executed; but *nobody* is responsible for *everybody's* work, and the *Board* of Admiralty bears the blame of these strange aberrations which no *individual* is held directly answerable for.

The best conducted of our public offices, if the prevailing opinion be a correct one, is the Horse Guards; and if this be the case why should it not be taken as a model for the others? If our natural pride revolts at the idea of borrowing from other countries, we may at least borrow from ourselves.

In taking a general view of the public departments, it has appeared expedient to place the Admiralty and the Horse Guards in juxtaposition, in order to show the results of a disseminated and a concentrated administration, and by contrasting them together, to illustrate the argument in respect of the management of public affairs by means of Boards. As for the two above named departments in themselves, they have been sufficiently considered in discussing the naval and military services; and it will therefore be proper to proceed with the examination of other public offices, taking them in the order assigned to them in the above list.

Of the items of expenditure under this head, the first in order, as in extravagance, is the vote for the two Houses of Parliament, which, joined to the £5,000 allowed to the Speaker of the House of Commons out of the Consolidated Fund, makes the total cost of the Houses of Parliament about a hundred thousand a year.

A more shameless and reckless instance of prodigality does not exist in the whole national expenditure, and it must be owned that our House of Commons, which is supposed to be a severe guardian of the public purse, has shown itself singularly indulgent in what concerns its own department. Why, the whole legislature of the United States, comprising the Congress at Washington, and the thirty senates, and thirty houses of representatives of the individual States, costs less than £400,000 a year, though all the members (upwards of four thousand taken together), receive a daily pay as long as the sessions last, and our single Parliament, composed of *unpaid* members, shall cost a quarter as much.

The present Clerk of the House of Commons has a salary of £3,500; the clerk-assistant £2,500 or as much as the under-secretaries-of-state in the Treasury department. The principal clerk of the public bill and fee office has £1,900, or within a hundred pounds of the other under secretaries-of-state. The serjeant-at-arms receives £1,500; the taxing-master £1,200, and the speaker's counsel £1,500; while the inferior clerks instead of beginning at £90, as in most of the executive departments, have comfortable salaries from £300 to £1,350, two only having between £150 and £200, and five more between £200 and £250. In this department, which may really be called the Eldorado for placemen, we find a deputy-housekeeper, who receives £500 a year, and has time to earn £300 more as clerk to the privy purse at Buckingham Palace; we find door-keepers at £400—nay, at £874, and messengers at £300 a year! How many a *superior* clerk, in public or private establishments, would gladly exchange his stool and desk for the dear delights of standing behind the doors of the House of Commons, or doing the messages of the elect of the nation.

But it will be thought, perhaps, that such exorbitant salaries are at least earned by a superabundance of work. Far from it; the clerks are, it is true, worked very hard during the sessions, but the Clerk of the House, Mr. Ley himself, informs us that they are seldom required to do any duty during the vacation. (See *Answer to Question 572*).

A Committee of Inquiry, appointed in 1833, did propose many reductions in this most lavish expenditure; but Mr. John Henry *Ley's* appointment is a patent one, and so are Mr William *Ley's*, and Mr. Henry *Ley's*, and thus does the first named gentleman receive

£3,500, the second £1,500, and the third £1,000, making the goodly sum of £6,000 a year to the family *Ley*; and even where it has been practicable, the recommendations of the Committee have been altogether slighted, as we learn from the following quotations out of Mr. *Ley*'s own evidence:—

“Are the salaries of those gentlemen in the private bill office the same as the Committee recommended?”—“No; some of them have been rather increased.” (*Question 609*).

On one occasion, where £100 additional had been given on account of an increase in the private business, the witness being asked whether that increase continued, replied—“No; it is not so great as it was two years ago, but when you once give a person £100, it is difficult to take it from him again.” (*See Answer to Question 570*).

The same prodigality and recklessness are to be met with in everything connected with this department. We are told that Mr. Rose and Mr. Gunnel have each a retiring pension of £1,157 10s., rather more than Lord Nelson would be entitled to as Admiral of the Fleet if he were still living; and Sir Edward Stracey £800, which is also more than the retiring allowance of an admiral who has not the title of Admiral of the Fleet.

Then, again, there is an accountant at an extravagant salary of £800, instead of £250, as recommended by the Committee of 1833! And when Mr. *Ley* was asked whether any check was kept upon the accountant's office, he replied,—“You must trust to people's honour.” (*Answer to Question 648*).

The answer of Mr. Dorrington, principal clerk of the public bill and fee office, to a similar question, was still plainer. He said—“There is no check.” (*Answer to Question 731*).

Much might be done by reducing the salaries which, in the division of the Clerk of the House of Commons, amount to upwards of £28,000; and in that of the serjeant-at-arms, to nearly £10,000; but more still by abolishing many forms that are worse than useless. By carrying this into effect it is not being over-sanguine to hope that the whole £30,000 a year might be saved to the budget, or the gross vote reduced to £60,000, as well as a considerable sum saved in the shape of fees, to individuals who have applications to make to Parliament.

With respect to the principal executive departments, it would appear, at first sight, that an important reduction has been effected during the year just expired, but on examination it will be found to be a mere delusion—we might almost say, a blind.

In the Treasury four clerks' places are abolished—three from the year 1849, and one prospectively. Two of these clerks had £1,000 a year each, and the third £150. Two messengers' places are also done away with, amounting to £220 per annum together, so that we are led to believe that a present saving of £2,370 has been effected; but, on looking a little closer we find that the senior clerks are placed upon superannuation allowances, amounting together to £1,770, so that the real saving is only £600.

In the office of the Paymaster of Civil Services, a reduction of £5,794 is shown between this year and the last, and of £13,924 as between this year and 1847; but £11,965 have been granted this year alone in the

shape of superannuation allowances to the clerks whose places are abolished. Thus, in these two instances, so far from a real saving being made it is just the reverse; for if occasion should require an increase of hands in the two offices just referred to, we may be quite sure that Government will not take back the clerks who are put on superannuation allowances, but will call in fresh ones; so, that in that case, we should have to pay the same salaries as before, besides the increased amount of superannuation allowances; and it has been shown that, already, that increase nearly equals the reduction in the office salaries.

Add to this, we have unfortunately too many proofs of the want of will, or want of power, in Ministers to economise seriously. The bill which has recently passed into a law, having for its object, to facilitate the sale of encumbered estates in Ireland, must necessarily relieve the Court of Chancery of a vast deal of business, and by substituting a simple for a complex process, must inevitably render the *aggregate* judicial work much lighter than it was before—for otherwise, indeed, it would be a failure. We should be fully justified, therefore, in expecting a saving as the consequence of this new measure, but the contrary has really taken place since Government has named Commissioners to decide upon these matters, but we are not informed that the Court of Chancery will cost a penny less than it did before this nomination.

But to proceed with our review of the different items:—

The Home and Colonial Offices call for little observation; not so the Foreign.

A very large item in the expenditure of this last department is the expense of messengers. Now, if the fact were not vouched for by such an authentic document as a return laid before the Committee of Inquiry on the Miscellaneous Estimates (appendix, page 91,) it would not be credited that the expense under this head, in the year 1846–7, was greater than in any year of the war, except 1813, 1814, and 1815; and that for 1840–1, it was larger still. It will not either escape attention that both of these periods coincide with the entry of Lord Palmerston into office.

Much might be said of the heedless extravagance in the details of this expenditure: as, for example, the salary of a messenger is £60, and his board wages at home 7s. 6d. a day, or £135 a year; so that if he is doing anything he gains £195 per annum, but if he travels he has a mileage over and above, which will on the average increase his emoluments by another £100.

Now for a service which, when performed at home at least, demands nothing beyond what would be required for first-rate domestic service,* £300 a year does seem rather a high scale of remuneration.

Then again, the allowances for journeys are calculated upon a basis so immensely beyond the real cost, that they leave a profit which must, in many cases, be more than the mileage. Take, for instance, a route with which many people are familiar, as that from London to Paris by way of Boulogne. We find in a return in the appendix (page 92), the cost of such a journey estimated at £7 15s. 4d. Why in June, 1848, the date of

* See Answer to Question 5530.

the return in question, the railway was open from Boulogne to Paris, and the expense of a journey by first-class carriage, express train, and best cabin, from London to Paris, was the same as it is at present, and cannot have exceeded £2 15s., or under extraordinary circumstances £3; and even adding the fee upon a Foreign-office passport, the amount would still be far from the sum above quoted.

These, however, are but minor reductions, though they still would make a very considerable difference in the aggregate, if carried into effect. The main economy would be brought about by putting an end to the constant interference with foreign nations, and foreign matters that do not concern us—which has been with so much justice a subject of reproach to most of our Foreign Secretaries, and more particularly to the one who holds office at present, during whose administration the expenses of this nature, as has just been observed, have been greater than under any other minister.

It is worthy of remark that the Americans have no minister for foreign affairs at all, the external relations of the country forming a part of the duties of the secretary-of-state.

Now, although we are not placed in the same situation, with respect to other nations, as the United States, it is certain that our insular position would allow of an almost complete abstinence from interference with foreign countries. How many thousands have been spent upon messengers for journeys relating to the mediations in Danish, Lombard, and Sicilian affairs, which have not only been fruitless, but have done anything but improve the reputation of the minister who was engaged in them. Let us make up our minds to leave the Continent to regulate its own affairs, and the expense of messengers might be reduced, at least to the minimum rate at which it stood formerly; and we are content to take pattern not from a period of peace, but one of war, as 1808 for example, when it was in round numbers, £12,000. By this means upwards of twenty thousand a-year would be saved.

The Privy Council Office is one which would admit of considerable modification, if it might not, indeed, be altogether suppressed, and its duties transferred to other departments of the public service, where they would cause no perceptible difference.

The Board of Trade and Committee of Education require but little animadversion. Though nominally adjuncts of the Privy Council, they are, to all intents and purposes, distinct branches, and as such might remain, either as independent offices, or annexed to the Home Office, or to any other.

As for the office which may be more properly called the Privy Council Office, it has not, as we are told by the chief clerk himself, a great deal of business of its own, but is fed from the other offices. (*Answer to Question 3178*).

We learn from the answer given by this witness to the same question, that the establishment was very small till the year 1808, when it was paid entirely by fees; a clear proof, that when the clerks were interested to be as few as possible, they could get through the business, though they were much less numerous than at present. The obnoxious system of payment by fees has been done away with, which, in as far as the

principle goes, is a good thing ; but the staff, and consequently the charge to the public, has been increased—as is, indeed, almost always the case under similar circumstances.

One great part of the duties of the Privy Council Office is the superintendence of the quarantine regulations. Let us hear what the chief clerk himself says on the subject :—

“All ships are released from quarantine by the order of the Lords of the Council, *but that is in fact a fiction* ; the papers are brought to the Clerk of the Council and examined by him—he sees that it is all right ; he takes, if necessary, the opinion of the Superintendent-General of the Quarantine, and he releases them, *auctoritate sua*.”

Then, why not let the superintendent release them himself—either entirely on his own authority, or subject to the revisal and approval of some officer of the Customs, or of the Board of Trade, not overcharged with business, of which many examples might be found ?

It must not be thought either that the cost of the Quarantine Office is included in the Privy Council estimate ; it is defrayed by the Customs.

Next to the establishment of the Houses of Parliament, the Privy Council Office presents the most objectionable features. For a department which has confessedly little to do, there is a chief clerk at £2,000 a year ; a second at £1,200 ; a third at £900 ; two at £700 each, and one at £500. In fine, out of a total of salaries amounting to £11,120, £8,550 are composed of salaries from £500 and upwards—a proportion quite inconsistent with the ordinary requirements of business, and dissimilar from what exists in the other departments of the State.

The chief clerk himself tells us he has a patent place in Jamaica of £500 a-year, which is deducted from his salary, it is true ; but then, if that place had been more valuable, the reduction would have been the same,—£500 being the maximum taken off on that account. What can be a more crying injustice than an example of this sort ?

Then, again, he tells us that some clerks were transferred to the Committee of Education, and received an increase of salary, upon which the Committee of Inquiry asked whether the additional sum which they received in the Education department was over and above the maximum salary in the Privy Council Office ? and to this the witness replied—“It was a separate department altogether.”

Now, if the clerks thus transferred were working in the Education department, it is pretty clear that they could be dispensed with in the Privy Council Office, and that they might have been dispensed with before.

It would not, perhaps, be saying too much, if we were to affirm that the whole of them might be spared, with the exception possibly of the clerks who attend upon the Judicial Committee, and that the business of the office might devolve upon the Home department, save the administration of the quarantine regulations, which might remain altogether under the cognizance of the Customs. A saving of at least £8,000 a-year might easily be effected in this way.

The Poor Law Commission is one of the most considerable of the public departments, and the expense attendant upon it has swelled to an enormous amount, on account of the increased duties heaped upon it.

This increase of business is attended with numerous disadvantages.

First and foremost, the very existence of the Board is a concession to that tendency towards centralization already referred to, and it cramps the local authorities too much in their sphere of action. Secondly, it renders the business of the Unions more complicated, and especially more tedious; and lastly, it very much increases the public expenditure, on account of the numerous staff that it requires, and of the augmented outlay, not only for salaries, but for stationery, and other concomitant items of expenditure.

The total expenditure under this head, during the last two years, was as follows:—

	1848—49.	1849—50.
Poor-Law Board, England - - -	£34,283	£35,136
„ Ireland, (including the excess voted in 1849) -	57,208	47,314
„ Scotland - - -	3,860	3,956
„ Auditors - - -	13,000	13,000
„ Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses - - -	35,000	35,000
„ Half Salaries of Medical Officers - - -	85,000	85,000
	<u>£228,851</u>	<u>£219,406</u>

We may be allowed here a passing remark on the singularity of the circumstance, that in the poorest of the three kingdoms, the salaries are as high, or nearly so, as in the richest. This may be seen upon perusal of the following statement, in which the analogous places are put in a line with one another.

English Board.				Irish Board.			
President	-	-	£2,000	Chief Commissioner	-	-	£2,000
Secretaries	-	-	1,500	Assistant Commissioner	-	-	1,200
Assistant Secretary	-	-	1,000	Secretary	-	-	1,000
Inspectors	-	-	700	Inspector	-	-	700

In Scotland, the chairman has £1,200 a year, and is assisted by three sheriffs at £100 each. The secretary has but £800 a year. It must be obvious, that if competent persons can be found in Scotland at these salaries, they might be found in Ireland at still less.

As for the system itself, though it still has some partisans, the more prevalent opinion seems to be, that it has been tried and found wanting. That an inspection should take place is exceedingly proper, and conducive to the better management of the workhouses; but this inspection could be managed by the local authorities quite as efficiently, less expensively, and in a manner much less invidious and irritating for the overseers and guardians. What, for example, should prevent the justices of the peace from having the liberty of inspecting the workhouses at any time they pleased, or from delegating a proper person to do this duty, and to audit the accounts at reasonable and convenient times? or the auditors might continue to be appointed, as at present, by the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the Unions, but without being subject to any

control from a central authority. The remuneration of the persons so delegated, would be an almost imperceptible charge upon the poor-rates ; and then the whole expense of the Poor Law Boards and auditors might be spared, an economy of upwards of £100,000 effected, and the business done in a manner altogether as efficient, and much more satisfactory to the feelings of Englishmen.

Some little reservation might perhaps be made with respect to Ireland, owing to the exceptional state of that part of the United Kingdom ; but even there the Government interference ought not to extend beyond a general surveillance, which—at Irish, not English salaries—might be effected at a very small cost to the public.

It was certainly pretended by the late Mr. Buller, as appears from his evidence before the Committee, that the Poor Law Board had saved upwards of £150,000 in law charges in one year, by the references which were made to it upon questions of law.

Be this true or not, it is quite certain that the saving does not arise from the *Board* itself, but from the *legal Secretary* of the Board ; and at all events the saving might be secured to the country by retaining that officer.

THE MINT.

With respect to the Mint not much need be said, as it is an acknowledged circumstance that a very considerable saving might be made in that establishment.

The coinage of the country is not done by the Government, but by a company of moneyers, who have gained thereby £126,000 from 1837 to 1847, both inclusively, making on an average between eleven and twelve thousand a year. The ingots are also melted by contract, and yet there is a staff of Master, Deputy-Master, Comptroller, and Assay-Masters, as though the whole business were done by the officers of the Mint.

In general, when work is done by contract, nothing is required but the means of ascertaining that the contractor fulfils the conditions of his contract. If a complete staff is to be kept up, where is the advantage of doing the work by contract ?—better far that the Government should do it ; while, on the other hand, if it be done by contract, the staff ought to be reduced.

It appears even that the Queen's Assay-Master, besides enjoying the modest salary of £750, is paid by the Bank and by private individuals, a fee upon every ingot brought to the Mint—which for the former is three shillings, for the latter we are not told, which renders it probable that it is settled by mutual agreement on each operation. The Master's Assay-Master has £400 a year, and similar fees though less in amount.*

In the United States a quantity of bullion was coined in 1847, to the amount of 22,657,678 dollars, or about £4,700,000 ; and the total vote for the Mint, and its several branches at Philadelphia, New Orleans, Dahlinego, and Charlotte, from 30th June, 1847 to 30th June, 1848, was no more than 121,000 dollars, or about £25,000 ; whereas in the same year in England, the total value coined was £5,300,000, and the expense to the State *directly* £77,806, over and above the sum *indirectly* paid in the shape of profit to the moneyers.

* See evidence of Mr. Shiel, Master of the Mint, *Questions* 5645 to 5650.

We may, then, conclude that an important reduction might be made in this branch, and it is fair to observe that something has already been done in the last year's estimate.

Before quitting the subject we cannot, however, forbear giving an extract from the evidence of the Master of the Mint, as a proof how little some of these highly-paid functionaries are acquainted with the very department they are called on to administer.

The Committee asked whether any reduction could be made in the establishment, to which Mr. Shiel made the following reply :

"I doubt whether any useful reduction could be made. The Mint underwent a reform in the year 1815, and I believe that the offices which were then considered to be unnecessary were abolished. At the same time, I own that *I am not sufficiently acquainted with the duties performed by the different officers in the Mint, to give a decided opinion upon that subject.* It would be better that I should withhold any imperfect opinion that I have formed, until the report of the Commissioners shall be issued." (*Answer to Question 5707*).

The avowal has much *naïveté* it must be allowed, but whether such complete ignorance of his department is a requisite qualification for a Master of the Mint, who receives £2,000 a year of the public money, is for the public to decide.

The curious reader may find similar examples in his answers to *Questions 5762 and 5768.*

The next four items require but little comment. The Railway Board has great and important duties to perform, and the establishment is not upon a scale incommensurately large, yet it has the same defect in its composition as the Admiralty; that is, it is formed of Commissioners having each a special department and peculiar acquirements adapted thereto—so that when questions are to be decided, a spirit of diffidence naturally prevents the Commissioners who are unacquainted with the subject to which they relate, from making objections. In this way all railway matters, though nominally settled by the Board, are practically determined by the Commissioner in whose department they lie, without further examination; whereas if these Commissioners had the rank of secretaries or inspectors, under one head, the questions might be as fully elucidated by them; but yet their report would go through a real examination, and their salaries need not be so high.

RECORD OFFICE. STATE PAPERS.

With the Record Office might be combined the care of the State Papers, the expense of which appears a little higher in the general statement. The Deputy-Keeper of the former office, Mr. H. Cole, not only admits the feasibility of this incorporation, but recommends it;* and there can be no doubt of its being practicable. A saving of at least £1,000 a year might be thus effected.

OFFICES IN SCOTLAND.

The offices in Scotland consist principally of £1,140 for expenses of the Bible Board, an institution of a most questionable nature as a

* See *Answer to Question 3459.*

Government establishment, at least ; and of £184 for a sinecure place of Historiographer. It is submitted that both of these items might be suppressed.

SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

The office of the Chief Secretary for Ireland employs more hands than the Home Office in London. This, it is clear, ought not to be the case, and the evidence of Mr. Matthews, chief clerk in that office, is strongly corroborative of this very natural conclusion. He tells us, in his answer to *Question 5303* :—"By the establishment of the Constabulary Office in Dublin, 1836 to 1837, a very considerable portion of the business previously done in the Chief Secretary's Office was transferred to that department."

And again, in reply to *Question 5305*, he says :—"By the appointment of the Constabulary Office, certainly the duties were diminished." And he informs us that any increase which might have taken place in the duties of the office was of a temporary nature, *and had ceased*. And yet we learn from the same authority, that no diminution of clerks in the Secretary's Office took place when it was relieved from the duties of the Constabulary Office. He even says very candidly :—"I have no hesitation in saying that the permanent establishment is *more than sufficient* for its ordinary daily duties." (*Answer to Question 5321*).

Here, then, there is an evident reduction to be made to the extent of the number of clerks formerly employed in the business transferred, be that number what it may.

A further saving might be effected by doing away with the needless practice followed by the public departments in Ireland, when they require money, of addressing their demands to the Lord-Lieutenant, who transmits them to the Treasury in London ; an arrangement which entails a delay of a fortnight, as Mr. Matthews assures us, and certainly must give rise to a great deal of correspondence, and take up a great deal of time.

Then, again, the office in London of the Irish Secretary is clearly useless, or worse than useless, as the correspondence between Dublin and London should take place without any middle person or office. There can be no hesitation in abolishing this office altogether, and saving the £3,200 it costs the country annually. Mr. Matthews informs us that the feasibility of this direct communication had been stated to the Committee of 1829. (*Answer to Question 5331*).

Lastly, the Privy Council Office in Ireland, which is included in the same estimate, might easily be suppressed as a distinct office, and united to the Secretary of State's. We have Mr. Matthews' authority again for this change, the propriety of which is perfectly obvious. He gives us to understand that a clerk and some of the office attendants might be saved by the consolidation, (*see Answer to Questions 5313 and 5314*), say, altogether, £800 a year.

On all these scores we may set down £5,000 a year as the lowest amount of saving that might easily be effected in the vote for the offices of the Chief Secretary of State for Ireland.

As to the household of the Lord-Lieutenant, it is not easy to understand how such appendages as four aide-de-camps, a steward, comptroller, chamberlain, gentleman usher, gentleman of the bedchamber, master of the horse, Ulster king-at-arms, &c. can be tolerated at this time of day for a mere deputy of the sovereign, when they begin to be thought rather questionable as appendages to royalty itself. It may fairly be contended that the office of Lord-Lieutenant has served its time, and is a mere expensive superfluity; but to add to the expense by adjuncts that are merely for pomp and show, is a piece of extravagance as unprincipled as impolitic, and is an insult to the poverty of the land which that officer is called upon to govern. If a Lord-Lieutenant is still to be tolerated in Ireland, he might, at least content himself with a private secretary, a surgeon, and a chaplain of the household; and we would even allow him a steward, albeit we are convinced that he would be far better without; and all this, together with the fifteen Queen's Plates to be run for in Ireland, would cost, at most, £3,200 instead of £6,464.

Thus, from the £791,969, amount of Expenditure under this head in the Miscellaneous Estimates, as per page 19, we must deduct the excess for Poor Law Board and Treasury Solicitor, therein included, amounting to £25,508, which leaves £766,461. From this deduct the above retrenchments proposed in respect of the Houses of Parliament, £30,000; Foreign Office, £20,000; Privy Council, £8,000; Poor Law Board, £50,000; State Paper Office, £1,000; Offices in Scotland, £1,300; Chief Secretary for Ireland, £5,000; Household of Lord-Lieutenant, £3,000; total, £118,300, and there would remain £648,161, as a charge on the Miscellaneous Estimates.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS PAID OUT OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND.

We next proceed to analyze the salaries and general expenditure of public departments paid out of the Consolidated Fund, premising first, that such a distinction seems most unwise and inexpedient.

No sound reason can be alleged why every item of public expenditure should not be provided for by parliamentary votes, and many good reasons can be given why none should appear as a charge on the Consolidated Fund, that are not founded upon some engagement entered into towards individuals which could not be broken without a breach of faith on the part of the State—such as the interest on the national debt, for example, and pensions.

If the matter were to be viewed merely with respect to the arrangement of expenses *already* determined upon, of course it would make no difference whether such and such items were classed under one head or another; but there is a real and practical difference, as the following statement will show:—

When ministers are called upon to make a very heavy reduction of expenditure, they reply, "What can we do? Why we have, after all, a very small sum, comparatively speaking, to deal with." There are the Navy Estimates, including contracts for transmission of letters,

about	...	...	...	...	...	£7,000,000
	Army, Commissariat and Militia	...	...	...	...	6,800,000
	Ordnance	...	...	...	...	2,600,000
	Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	3,900,000
	Total	...	...	...	...	£20,300,000

And they say, "We have only twenty millions over which any control can be exercised, and cannot therefore make any considerable reductions." But the fact is, that there are in the charges of collection of the revenue and payments in its progress to the Exchequer, about £4,500,000, and in the charge on the Consolidated Fund, £1,500,000 (including pensions), which are from their nature as susceptible of reduction as the services above enumerated, and which added to these last, make a sum total of twenty-six millions instead of twenty.

And let it not be said that the judges' salaries ought be charged on the Consolidated Fund as well as pensions, for this assertion would be incorrect. The judges are appointed, it is true, for life ; but the fixedness of position does not give, as a necessary consequence, the fixedness of salary at a definite figure. If those that are in existence have, by Act of Parliament, received, not only the positive engagement that they should be judges as long as they lived, but that they should enjoy a stipulated salary *per annum*, for their lives, it is a thing to be regretted, but it would be a breach of faith not to carry out the engagement. But at all events, let us beware of falling into a similar imprudence in future, by repealing the statutes which have made judicial salaries a charge on the Consolidated Fund.

Having premised these general remarks, let us now descend to particulars.

AUDIT OFFICE.

The first department in the list, page 99, is the Audit Office. The reader is doubtless prepared to find, that if the public accounts are not well audited, it is not from any lack of Commissioners ; and he will not be wrong in his conclusion, as, besides the chairman, there are no less than five.

Now, as the real business of examination is conducted by the Examiners and Inspectors, it is evident that the only special duty which remains for the Commissioners to perform, is the general supervision, and the decision upon doubtful points. In order to come to a determination upon such matters, three would be sufficient ; but to guard against contingencies of illness or unavoidable absence, it might be thought advisable to have an additional Commissioner beyond the number strictly necessary for a quorum. This would make three Commissioners instead of five, and would ensure a consequent saving of £2,400.

NATIONAL DEBT OFFICE.

The National Debt Office is one whose necessity seems anything but clearly demonstrated. Its principal duties are, to lay out in the public

funds the excess of revenue ; a duty which in all probability will not be very burdensome as long as the present ministers remain in office,* and to grant annuities for lives, or for terms of years. There is no reason why the whole establishment should not be transferred to the Treasury : the first-mentioned duty might be placed under the supervision of a junior lord, without any addition whatever to the staff ; and for the second branch, together with the check department, nothing seems easier than to take two rooms, and put the actuary and accountant in one, and four or five clerks (if so many were necessary) in the other, which would cost at the very outside £2,500 a-year, instead of nearly £13,000 in 1847-48, and little short of £14,000 in 1848-49, leaving a saving of £11,000.

It is right to notice, in the detail of the expenditure of this office, as given in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee, page 307, a very insidious item of £600, paid to the actuary and his clerk, as Government Calculator, his salary in the National Debt Office being £850. As a general rule, when a clerk is taken at a fixed yearly salary, it is understood that the whole of his time belongs to his employer. The actuary of the National Debt Office is a Government clerk, and if the special business of that office do not occupy his whole time, Government has a fair right to fill up the vacant 'moments, by any employment they choose to give him in his own peculiar sphere : such, at all events, should be the understanding when an actuary is engaged in the office which is now under consideration. But the fact is practically, that whatever be the special business of the office, or the other matters laid before him by Government, the actuary has plenty of time unoccupied, which he is not unfrequently enabled to devote to private references in a way very profitable to himself.

None surely will grudge him such fair earnings, since they do not interfere with the execution of his public duties ; but this circumstance furnishes an additional reason for not throwing away the money of the country under the specious pretext of remuneration of services.

TITHE COMMISSION.

The expenses of the Tithe Commissioners ought to be taken from the tithes and not from the budget of the State ; but however defrayed, they should be much less than they are now. There is, as a matter of course, a secretary and an assistant to this Board—which is, after all, a mere commission of inquiry—as well as three Commissioners at £1,500 a year each. Then the Assistant-Commissioner and local agents are paid £3 a day, besides £1 1s. for personal expenses, and for travelling, the expenses actually incurred.

Now it is not, perhaps, too much to say that the secretary might be altogether dispensed with ; and taking the example of another department, that if £1,500 be sufficient for an officer who has to superintend so many minute details as the Registrar-General, it is more than enough for a Tithe

*. Although an excess of revenue has been declared since this passage was written, there seems but little reason for recalling the observation.

Commissioner. Then, again, highly efficient men might be found as local agents for £2 2s. a day, and 12s. 6d. to 15s. for personal expenses ; and by these means alone a saving of about £5,000 a year might be effected, even supposing it were expedient to continue the Tithe Commission, which is a very questionable proposition.

INCLOSURE COMMISSIONERS.

The Inclosure Commission is put upon a footing which calls for an expenditure as heedless as that which has just been discussed. Three Commissioners, of whom one is paid, find it necessary to have a secretary at £800 a year. Yet it does not appear unreasonable to assume that the paid Commissioner might himself perform the duties of secretary even for £1,000 a year instead of £1,500. The Assistant-Commissioners and Drainage Surveyors are paid nearly on the same scale as those employed by the Tithe Commissioners, and a similar reduction might be effected. Altogether a saving of £4,000 a year might be hoped for.

LUNACY COMMISSIONERS.

The Lunacy Commission is composed of six commissioners. Their salary would bear reducing from £1,500 to £1,000, making an annual saving of £3,000.

REGISTRAR-GENERAL.

The Registrar-General's department is not open to objection in anything like the same degree as those branches of the public service which have formed the subject of the preceding remarks, and the expense of his office does not seem out of proportion to the business done. Only with respect to the sum of £15,000 paid to the 622 Superintendent-Registrars and 2,608 Registrars, it is very doubtful whether they might not be altogether saved, by making it incumbent on some constituted parochial authority to make the entries.

PUBLIC WORKS LOAN COMMISSIONERS.

It only remains further to notice the Public Works Loan Commissioners,—another office evidently created either for the sake of patronage, or to comply with the unfortunate Commission-mania which prevails among our ruling powers. Surely nothing could be easier than to transfer the whole business to the Paymaster-General's Office, or to divide it between that office and the Treasury, or the Woods and Forests, without a shilling of expense to the public ; and this would simplify the transactions, and cause a saving of the whole £3,000 a year that the department costs.

DIPLOMATIC SALARIES.

The figure of £140,000 a year for salaries to Ambassadors and their suite, calls for immediate and immense reduction.

It has often been found necessary, in the preceding pages, to refer to the practice of the United States, and surely if there is anything in which that country may be held up as an example for imitation, it is in its diplomacy; for no one will deny that its ministers cannot be reproached with showing any want of capacity, still less any sense of inferiority, in their intercourse with foreign governments, or with failing to keep up the dignity of their own. Yet what is the allowance of the American Government to their ministers-plenipotentiary—the highest rank that exists among them?—Why £1,875 a year, and £1,875 as outfit; and that for secretaries of embassies £417, while England pays to her representative in France and Austria £10,000 a year each; in Russia and Spain, thanks to his having the title, not of Ambassador, but of Envoy-Extraordinary, £6,500; and to its Secretaries of Legation £1,000 to £1,200 in the former countries, and £800 in the latter. Nay, in the United States our minister, when he possesses the highest diplomatic title, enjoys a salary equal to that of the President of those States himself. The reader may judge of the rest from the foregoing examples.

Now, unless dignity can be proved to consist in the possession of money,—unless the example of America can be set aside as a failure,—what other name can the grant of such salaries deserve than a most reprehensible and unnecessary waste of the resources of the nation? Let us even double the American standard, and fix it as the maximum for our own Ministers and Secretaries of Legations, and a saving of nearly £20,000 a year would be the necessary consequence; but taking a medium course, and fixing the maximum for Ambassadors at £3,000, and that for Secretaries £700, and the next class at £2,000 and £600 respectively, and allowing £1,500 for outfit of the first class, and £1,200 for that of a second, the expense of a first-rate embassy would be as follows:—

Ambassador's salary	...	...	...	...	£3,000
Ditto outfit	...	...	...	...	1,500
Secretary's salary	...	...	...	...	700
Attaché's	...	...	...	...	500
Total	...	...	...	...	<u>£5,700</u>

And for a second-rate:—

Minister's salary	...	...	...	...	£2,000
Ditto outfit	...	...	...	...	1,200
Secretary's salary	...	...	...	...	600
Attaché's	...	...	...	...	200
					<u>£4,000</u>

Among the first class might be reckoned the embassies to France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, and Turkey. Among the second might be comprised the legations to the two Sicilies, Portugal, Brazil, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, Switzerland, Sardinia, Greece, Mexico, and the United States,—not certainly because they are unworthy of being classed with the first-rate powers, but because £2,000 a-year are

sufficiently handsome in a country whose chief magistrate has only five. At the other small courts and republics of Hanover, Saxony, Wirtemberg, Frankfort, Tuscany, New Grenada, Buenos Ayres, Venezuela, Peru, Chili, and Monte Video, an Envoy or Chargé d'Affaires is sent, and the expense of such a legation would be defrayed not only upon a liberal, but a profuse scale, for an average sum of £2,400 a-year, including outfit.

There would then be	6	legations 1st class at	£5,700	£34,200
	13	" 2nd "	4,000	52,000
	11	" 3rd "	2,400	26,400
Total - - - -				<u>£112,600</u>

And allowing £1000 extra for the Turkish Embassy ... £113,600

At present the annual sum carried to the Consolidated Fund is £140,000, and there would then be a saving of at least £26,400 even supposing that the ministers and envoys were changed once a year, which is certainly not the case. If they were changed once in two years, on an average, which would in all conscience be often enough, the saving would be £40,000 at least, since the outfit would not have to be paid every year for the whole number of ambassadors. It would not, however, be all; for independently of the charge on the Consolidated Fund, not a year passes without a vote being taken for repairs of the ambassadors' houses at Paris and Madrid; but it should of course be established as a rule that the salary was destined to meet every ordinary charge, including of course house-rent, and that any casualties should be met by the outfit allowance,—and it will be easy to perceive that our aggregate expense for legations would be nearly fifty thousand a year less than it is now, while the salaries would still be more than half as much again as those allowed by the United States. It is possible that they might appear slender to some titled personages, and they might consider it an insult to have the offer of places with such paltry emoluments; but many other capable men, with or without title, would gladly accept situations that afforded them such a wide field for the display of talent.

One more observation before dismissing this department. The sum annually taken credit for as a charge on the Consolidated Fund for diplomatic salaries is £140,000; and yet in the published accounts the *payments* only are given under each head; and not the *charge* for the year, as is the practice with respect to all other sums chargeable upon the Consolidated Fund; and as the payments are every year less altogether than the £140,000, it is to be presumed that the *charge* also is less, and we may fairly ask what becomes of the difference?

LEGAL SALARIES.

We have next to deal with the salaries of the different legal functionaries, which in one shape or another occupy the remainder of the list, with the exception of the £485,924 (now £551,850), for constabulary police, and the £17,823 17s. 3d. (this year £16,851 5s. 7d.) for augmentation of stipend to the Clergy of Scotland. These salaries and office expenses for the year 1847–8, amounted altogether to £414,504 18s. 11d., and for 1848–9 to £415,505 13s. 1d.

And it must not be supposed that this figure represents anything like the total expense to the country of the different courts which administer justice throughout it. Enormous sums are paid out of fees and other sources ; and the figures above quoted, immense as they are, contain scarcely any item beyond the expense of the great Metropolitan, and of some Scotch courts,—and even these do not comprise very important sums paid in the shape of compensation.

The expenditure of the United States for the same purpose, according to the almanack for 1849, was in round numbers :—

From the Budget of the Union	-	-	-	-	£167,000
By the individual States	-	-	-	-	121,000
Total	-	-	-	-	<u>£288,000</u>

Now, as the population of the United Kingdom is about half as much again as that of the United States, if £288,000 are sufficient for the latter country, £432,000 ought to suffice for the former : and yet that sum does in truth scarcely cover the expense of our upper Courts alone.

In France, the entire judicial establishment occupies a place in the budget to the extent of a million sterling ; but this includes the expenses of the Minister of Justice's office, and the pensions and allowances paid to the judges and other functionaries under his department. It must not be forgotten either, that the whole of the establishment is paid out of the state-budget, the departments and communes contributing no share of the expense ; that none of the judges are entitled to fees except the justices of the peace ; and that to each tribunal is attached a salaried public prosecutor, with assistants where it is necessary ; so that a great part of what here forms a distinct item of expenditure under the title of Expense of Prosecutions, is, in France, included in the general judicial expenditure.

Now turn we to page 27, and we shall find that the cost of the judicial department paid out of the budget was, for this last year, £586,439 1s. 10d., and the expense of prosecutions, £417,966. Let us add to the former amount the salaries of judges, clerks, &c., in the county courts, and other local jurisdictions over the whole of England, Scotland and Ireland, and confess that the expenditure is altogether out of proportion with the £288,000 of the United States for judicial salaries, &c. ; and with the million in France for judicial salaries and expenses of prosecutions, to say nothing of the enormous amount of fees, which are so immeasurably greater in England than in any other country.

No one can go through the above list without being scandalized at the exorbitant scale of salaries given in the judicial department. A Cabinet Minister leads a most laborious life, even when Parliament is not sitting ; he is obliged during the session to attend constantly in his place at the House, and is put to great expense by the company that circumstances compel him to entertain very frequently ; and yet, with all this the Cabinet Ministers have but £5,000 a year, whereas the Chief Justices, who only sit during term time, and have, comparatively speaking, very few entertainments to give, are in receipt of £8,000 a year ; the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, of £7,000, and the Judges of

that Court, called, by a strange misnomer, a Court of Equity, whose existence has been all but proclaimed a nuisance by one of the highest authorities of the realm, receive, the one £7,000, and the other £6,000 a year, while the Lord Chancellor himself has more than double! In France, the first President of the first Court of Justice, the celebrated Court of Cassation, has but £1,200 a year, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 5,000 dollars, making about £1,040. Yet it would perhaps be as difficult to bring any well-grounded charge of corruption against those magistrates as against our own.

It is impossible to make out an estimate of what would be a fair expenditure for the Judicial Department, without going into very great details, or without more ample information than is laid before the public. With respect to the larger salaries, however, the immediate adoption of the following scale might be recommended to be put into practice on the occurrence of each vacancy, for such offices as now form a charge on the Consolidated Fund, or on the Customs and Excise Revenue:—

	Present Scale.		Proposed Scale.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.
1 Master of the Rolls - - - - -	7,000	.....	3,000	
1 Vice Chancellor - - - - -	6,000	.....	3,000	
2 Chief Justices, Queen's Bench and Common Pleas - - - - -	£8,000 each			
8 Judges - - - - -	£5,000 each	16,000	3,500 ea.	7,000
1 Chief Baron of the Exchequer - - - - -	7,000	.....	3,000	
4 Barons - - - - -	£5,000 each	20,000	2,500 ea.	10,000
1 Judge of the Admiralty Court - - - - -	4,000	.....	3,000	
1 Clerk of the Hanaper - - - - -	5,000	.....	2,500	
1 Lord Chancellor of Ireland - - - - -	8,000	.....	3,500	
5 Masters - - - - -	15,586	2,000 ea.	10,000	
1 Chief Justice, Queen's Bench - - - - -	5,074	.....	3,000	
3 Judges - - - - -	10,918	2,000 ea.	6,000	
1 Chief Justice, Common Pleas - - - - -	4,613	.....	3,000	
3 Judges - - - - -	11,065	2,000 ea.	6,000	
1 Chief Baron - - - - -	4,613	.....	3,000	
3 Barons - - - - -	11,066	2,000 ea.	6,000	
1 Lord President Court of Sessions, Scotland - - - - -	4,800	.....	3,500	
1 ditto, second - - - - -	4,500	.....	3,000	
1 Late President - - - - -	3,600	.....	2,000	
40	188,835	.....	100,500	

Reduction £88,335.

While discussing the exorbitant scale of judicial salaries, it would not perhaps be amiss to inquire how far the salaries of the public servants of this country in general, are fixed at a fair rate. The question is worth investigating, for upon it depends the solution of many others of great importance.

In order to assist the reader in forming a just estimate as to this part of the subject, the following analysis is laid before him of the salaries exceeding £100 in the different departments of the State, as taken from the Votes and Estimates of 1848, in respect of the Miscellaneous Services, and charge on the Consolidated Fund, and from the Estimates for 1849-50 in respect of the Army, Navy, and Ordnance:—

Salaries from	CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.			NAVY.						ARMY.						ORDNANCE.						TOTALS.	
				Military Part.			Civil Part.			Military Part.			Civil Part.			Military Part.			Civil Part.				
	Nos.	Amounts.	£. s. d.	Nos.	Amounts.	£. s. d.	Nos.	Amounts.	£. s. d.	Nos.	Amounts.	£. s. d.	Nos.	Amounts.	£. s. d.	Nos.	Amounts.	£. s. d.	Nos.	Amounts.	£. s. d.	Nos.	Amount.
£100 to £300	552	88,163	1 6 2883	397,259	19 0	178	28,125	16 3 4777	847,377	13 10 103	16,886	0 8 1441	238,101	10 10 143	24,464	9577	1,640,348	2 1					
300 to 500	275	100,939	16 11 299	105,211	13 3	62	26,512	0 7 51	259,508	3 10 49	18,153	8 0 226	83,624	12 3 42	15,800	1704	610,749	12 3					
500 to 700	105	38,679	3 4 37	20,868	0 0	3	1,750	0 157	86,100	5 5 5	2,655	7 10 34	90,993	10 5 26	15,110	367	205,156	7 0					
700 to 1,000	91	67,698	6 0 28	21,170	11 8	14	11,255	0 23	20,183	6 10 14	10,670	8 11 10	7,909	15 0 5	4,400	185	142,287	8 5					
1,000 to 1,500	60	67,783	1 0 4	4,322	5 0	12	13,000	0 24	26,179	19 5 3	3,200	0 0 21	21,571	0 0 5	6,000	129	142,056	5 5					
1,500 to 2,000	40	61,631	6 8 1	1,825	0 0	2	3,100	0 4	7,283	5 2	6,480	0 0	3	6,480	0 0	47	73,839	11 10					
2,000 to 2,500	19	39,050	0 0 7	15,330	0 0	1	2,000	0 6	12,541	15 10 3	6,480	0 0	3	6,480	0 0	26	75,401	15 10					
2,500 to 3,000	8	21,082	14 0 5	13,505	0 0	5	13,505	0 0	13,505	15 10 3	6,480	0 0	3	6,480	0 0	13	34,587	14 0					
3,000 to 3,500	18	54,895	14 8	...	...	2	6,516	17 6	6,516	17 6	...	...	...	...	...	21	64,412	12 3					
3,500 to 4,000	12	44,119	10 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	44,119	10 4					
4,000 to 5,000	5	22,525	17 4	...	...	1	4,500	0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	27,025	17 4					
5,000 to 6,000	21	105,574	9 4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	105,574	9 4					
6,000 to 7,000	1	6,000	0 0	...	...	...	...	...	6,701	3 9	...	...	...	...	...	2	12,701	3 9					
7,000 to 8,000	2	14,000	0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	14,000	0 0					
8,000 to 9,000	3	24,000	0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	24,000	0 0					
	1312	776,143	1 1 2764	380,492	8 11	273	90,242	16 3 6745	1,272,392	11 7 177	58,015	3 5 1732	372,200	8 6 223	68,774	12125	3,218,260	9 9					

According to this analysis, it appears that there are 67 public servants enjoying salaries at, and above, the rate of £3,000 a year, amounting altogether to £291,833 12 11

And according to a return of the persons comprised in Schedule D of income tax for the year 1849, there were but 2300 individuals, whose income, derived from professions or trades, was above £3000, and 1500 between £2000 and £3000, making a total only of 3800 persons earning £2000 a year and upwards, out of a population containing, at least, four millions of males between the ages of childhood and decrepitude, of whom the great majority must be engaged in some calling.

It may, therefore, fairly be contended that £3,000 a year is an enormous salary, even in this country, and there is no doubt of its being immensely beyond the scale adopted in other countries.

Few people in business, it has been seen, realize so large an amount of profit yearly, though they run a risk of loss.

In government service there is then to be considered the absence of risk, as well as the distinction of holding a conspicuous place in the state. Many persons, and highly-gifted ones too, would gladly accept of these elevated positions without any remuneration at all, from the same feeling which renders them ambitious of the costly honors of a seat in the House of Commons.

By fixing the maximum of salaries for the present at a rate which would enable a family to live with elegance, and, at the same time, to make a respectable saving, most assuredly the interests of the public servants would be sufficiently cared for. Some few places, it may be admitted, oblige their holders to very extraordinary expenses in official dinners and entertainments,—such are the First Lord of the Treasury, the Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. These eight places might perhaps be considered as not overpaid at £5000 a year, (except the First Lord of the Admiralty, who has but £4500), and the annual amount would therefore be £39,500

40 Judicial salaries subjected to a special			
— scale page 121	...	...	188,835
48 to deduct for a total sum of	...	...	228,335 0 0
Remain 19 for	...	...	£63,498 12 11
Which if reduced to £3000 each would make	...	...	57,000 0 0
Saving to be effected	...	...	£6,498 12 11

Again, there are 410 persons at salaries between £700 and £3,000, amounting altogether to... £469,172 15 6

These salaries might be reduced a full 25 per cent. and yet leave the holders of the places a very sufficient remuneration. From this reduction might be excepted the naval and military officers included in the above 410; because, in the first place, in stating the economy that might be effected by a diminution of the army and navy, we have taken into account the *total suppression* of most of these salaries after the death of the officers existing at present; and in the second place, because these two services, although paid higher than in any other country, unless perhaps in America, and that only with respect to the navy, are nevertheless very much underpaid as compared with the other departments, and more particularly the judicial; whereas they ought to be remunerated on a much higher scale, when the hardship of the service, and the risk of life and limb, are taken into consideration, as well as the expense to which the officers are put through the frequent changes of place, and the necessity, in most cases, of having quite as good an education as is required for other branches of the public service.

Deducting, then, £56,152 16s. 8d. received by			
45 naval, and £66,188 7s. 3d. by 57 military			
officers, making a total of	...	...	122,341 3 11

There will remain 308 persons receiving	...	£346,831 11 7
---	-----	---------------

Upon which a reduction of 25 per cent. might easily be made, and a saving of £86,707 effected.

These two sums of £6,500 and £86,000, do not represent the *total* saving that might be realized in the salaries paid out of the public money, inasmuch as the table does not contain the salaries paid out of the charges of collection, and but a part only of those included in *payments out of revenue in its progress to the Exchequer*; neither does it contain such as are wholly paid out of fees without the intervention of the Exchequer, or from local or other sources—such as the enormous salaries of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord Chancellor, and the Judges, and other officers connected with the ordinary administration of justice throughout the country. A few also of the items in the general list, pages 98 to 103, are not comprised in the table—such as Inspectors of Factories, Household of the Lord-Lieutenant, Ambassadors, and a few others which we have had no means of analyzing, or which have been considered apart.

Neither can this proposed modification of existing salaries be looked upon as a Procrustean bed, to which the officers included in the above table must be made to conform through an inexorable and inflexible operation. Some few exceptions might be found in which 25 per cent. would be too much to take off, and some few in which it would be too little; but as a general rule, such a reduction might very safely be made,

and the particular cases which are alluded to as exceptions would not materially alter the result.

As a further consequence of such an alteration, it would be necessary, in many cases, to bring about a slight reduction of the salaries below £700, in order to keep up, to a certain extent, the relative amount of emolument enjoyed at present by clerks of different rank or standing in the same office or department.

But before this part of the subject is altogether dismissed, two more recommendations may not improperly find their place here: one that patent places be altogether done away with, and the other, which has been already noticed, that no salaries be granted for life.

It is a disgrace and a stain to the Government that such offices should exist as the one already adverted to in these pages—a clerk of the Privy Council holding a place in Jamaica, and receiving a salary without ever seeing the island.

As to the second recommendation, every one must agree that the system of fixing salaries without subjecting them to such alterations as circumstances may render desirable, is, to say the least of it, a glaring want of forethought. No government would be heartless enough to sport wantonly with the future prospects or present comfort of a deserving public servant; but, on the other hand, no government ought to have its hands tied up in such a way as to render it incapable of fulfilling its duties towards the public.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

The most prominent items in this class of expenditure, without reckoning the salaries charged upon the Consolidated Fund, which have been considered above, are

Cost of prosecutions paid formerly from the county rates, of which but one-half was paid by the State in 1835, and subsequently the whole, and in respect of which the vote for 1849-50 was	-	-	-	-	-	£258,000
Cost of prosecutions in Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	63,991
" in Scotland (deducting £4,455 excess of 1848-9 over sums voted for that year)	-	-	-	-	-	69,275

The first of these items furnishes a striking illustration of the danger of changing the expenditure from one branch of revenue to another, unless it be to relieve altogether the branch from which the transfer is made, by doing away with the taxation that supplied it. In the instance now before us, the State is saddled with this heavy item of expenditure formerly paid by the counties, and yet the rates actually levied are not less,—indeed, in many places, are greater than they were before the change took place. Had things remained as they were, the counties would have continued paying their own expenditure for prosecutions, and what is more, they would have looked after it and not let it grow so large; at the same time they would have avoided several new expenses that have been, to a certain degree, forced upon them, because they might have

pleaded their inability to defray them without raising the scale of rates to an exorbitant degree.

In 1835, when one-half only of these costs was paid by the State, the vote was £110,000, and the total must therefore have been £220,000, whereas the vote for 1849-50 was £258,000 for costs of prosecutions, and £95,000 for maintenance of convicts, (comprised before the present year in the same chapter, and in one sum with the costs of prosecution), together £353,000; so that the increase in fourteen years is no less than £133,000, or 60 per cent.

There does not appear any valid reason why a public prosecutor should not be named in every county, or perhaps in much smaller districts, and in this way all expense of fees to counsel might be avoided.

This idea is by no means new, and has been advocated by many eminent lawyers, among others by Lord Brougham. In Scotland it is actually carried into effect; and everybody knows that in France it is one of the established institutions of the land.

In the latter country counsel are never employed in what are called *actions publiques*, that is to say, in criminal causes which have no other object but that of obtaining the punishment of the delinquent. When civil interests are involved, or when there is a demand for damages against the accused, they are frequently called in by the plaintiff, and although they may plead on the question of culpability, it is only because the issue of *their client's* demand hangs upon that question; but the *Procureur de la République*, or public prosecutor, is the only party who pleads in the *public* interest, as to the guilt of the party on trial.

In Scotland there is an officer called the Procurator-Fiscal, whose business it is to receive information, to make enquiry, and in cases that come under the cognizance of the Court of Justiciary, to send them to the Crown Counsel. We learn, from the authority of the Lord Advocate, that, with respect to a great many offences tried before the Sheriffs, the causes are altogether conducted by the Procurator-Fiscal, and the presence of counsel very frequently dispensed with, and is indeed the exception rather than the rule. "So little is it a matter of course," says his Lordship in his evidence, (*Answer to Question 7670*), "that within late years, I myself have made and enforced a regulation that counsel are never to be employed before the Sheriff except on the authority of either the Lord-Advocate or the Solicitor-General; not even giving to the Depute-Advocates the right of sending counsel down to the country; because I found that in some cases it had been carried a little farther than I thought was quite warranted, and I wished to have it under the immediate superintendence of the Lord-Advocate and the Solicitor-General."

Much good would be obtained by rendering the institution of public prosecutor more complete in Scotland, and by extending it over the whole United Kingdom, so that counsel might altogether cease to be employed. In some intricate civil causes, those for example which involve questions of real property, it is possible to imagine that the aid of an eminent counsel may be of some advantage; though even there it is somewhat difficult to conceive why one lawyer should not be able to plead as well as another, because the first is called a solicitor and the second a barrister, each having received a legal education, and being in other respects

equally well instructed; besides which there is nothing, after all, to prevent the public prosecutor from being a barrister.

In criminal cases, where there is nothing but the *fact* to deal with, it is impossible to maintain that *any* man accustomed to speak in public should not be as competent as a counsel, to handle the facts and examine the witnesses, and then address a jury on the plain question, *Has the accused committed such and such an offence?* for that, after all, is the whole gist of the proceedings, and therein no legal knowledge is involved.

Another important reform would be to try all questions at the Quarter Sessions; by which means, under good management, much greater expedition would be obtained and an immense saving effected. The gaol delivery, now brought about by the circuit courts, might still be secured by one of the judges of the Westminster courts making his circuit, in order to visit the prisons and see that the magistrates of the sessions did not get into arrears.

The opinions here advocated have found a partisan in Mr. Hankins, law clerk of the Treasury, whose evidence is highly interesting, and sets forth in very strong colors the inconsistencies and abuses of the present system, as well as the discrepancies between the costs of actions carried on in the different jurisdictions. We cannot do better than quote his own words.

Question 5717. "You spoke of the accounts in some cases at the assizes being made up in a hurried manner?"—"I said that there was less care in taxing the charge for witnesses, in consequence of the clerk of assize being obliged to do it in a hurry."

5718. "Can you suggest any remedy for that?"—"I can only suggest one remedy—that you should have a crown prosecutor in every county, to be called a Crown Solicitor."

5719. Supposing you had a crown prosecutor in every county, he would then be responsible for the expenses, and of course have more license to make them out?"—"Yes, and that would produce uniformity. At present you have hardly any uniformity in the different counties. They are all governed by their own orders. I find that in one county they are allowing 3*d.* a mile for a witness, and in another they allow 9*d.*; then in one county they allow a man 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, and in another county they allow 7*s.* or 8*s.* to the same class of persons."

5729. "Is the positive allowance made to the witness greater at the assizes than at the quarter sessions?"—"Yes, because the clerk of assize *does not seem to have any care what is allowed at the assizes.*"

5730. "Therefore, when the magistrates have, through their officer, a control over the expenses, there is a greater economy exercised than there is at the assizes?"—"Yes, the treasurer pays upon the certificate of the clerk of assizes. He does not look into the items; *he pays whatever is certified, he has no control.* A prosecution for robbery at the sessions would be done for about £8, and at the assizes it will cost £24."

5731. "In stating the difference between the expense of prosecutions at the sessions and at the assizes, do you make any allowance for the graver nature of the cases ordinarily submitted to the assizes?"—"No, I am speaking of the same sort of case; taking the same case that is tried now at the quarter sessions—supposing the sessions were just over, and the man was committed between the sessions and the assizes, he would

be tried at the assizes. I say, that the same case which, if it had been tried by the magistrates at the sessions would have cost about £8, if it goes to the assizes will cost £20."

5733. "Have you any means of testing the number of witnesses and the distances which they travelled, in the one case and in the other, and the various items of which the charge consisted, or do you merely come to your conclusions upon a comparison of figures?"—"From the fact that witnesses coming from the same part to the assize town and to the sessions, are allowed more at the assizes than they are at the sessions. At the assizes there is a much higher charge than at the sessions. For instance, if I go professionally to Maidstone or to any other town, I am charged a guinea for my bed; whereas if I went to the sessions, I should pay perhaps the ordinary charge of 2s. 6d."

5734. "That is an accident that no vigilance on the part of the officer can control?"—"No, it only shows that those people would be tried at the sessions at much less expense than they are at the assizes. *They would be tried cheaper, quicker, and quite as well.*"

The same witness informs us that the county has no control over the expenses at assizes, and that the whole board of magistrates would have no power to reduce them.

No reason can be found in the ratio between the number of commitments or of trials in 1847, or 1849 and 1835, in order to account for the immense increase in the cost of these prosecutions, and it may fairly be inferred that the increase is mainly due to the absence of that local supervision above alluded to, and that a considerable saving might be made. It is not easy, in the absence of data, to determine the figure with any degree of certainty; but one thing is indisputable, that out of the 3,408 cases tried at the assizes, a large proportion, probably two-thirds, might, by a slight and much-to-be-desired alteration of the law, have been sent to the sessions, and at least £36,000 saved; so that the total expense in England and Wales might be defrayed irrespectively of other probable retrenchment, for £222,000.

The heavy expense incurred for Irish prosecutions, as shown in the second figure* above, affords another instance of the laxity with which abuses are suffered to rise up, and then to perpetuate themselves, more particularly in the sister isle.

Mr. Matthews, Under-Secretary of State for Ireland, has described the mode of conducting prosecutions in that country, which will be better understood if we quote his own words:—

"Up to 1836, the Clerks of the Peace and the crown were bound by the patent of their office to conduct the prosecutions at the quarter sessions *without salary*; but in 1836, the Irish Government appointed Sessional Solicitors for each county upon a salary, and relieved the Clerks of the Peace of the duty of conducting prosecutions. But notwithstanding that, each Clerk of the Peace now charges for supplying the

* It is to be remarked, that this figure, heavy as it is, does not cover the whole expense of prosecutions in Ireland, since an item of £18,000 for certain expenses at quarter sessions is included in the sum of £258,000 voted for costs formerly chargeable upon the counties in England.

Sessional Solicitor with copies of informations, to enable him to carry on the prosecutions. I have no doubt that on going through that vote for criminal prosecutions, without in any degree inconveniencing the public service, a reduction of £15,000 might be made.”—(*Answer to Question 5405*). And in the answer to the next question he explains that this reduction was not upon the £71,000 cost in 1848-9, but upon that sum reduced to £66,000.

With respect to the payment to Clerks of the Peace for copies of informations, he declared that it was most unjust, and that they were bound by their patent of office to make them *gratis*. (See *Answers to Questions 5411 and 5412*).

Now surely nothing can more completely prove the negligence of the authorities, and their total indifference to economy, than this instance. Under the old system the Clerks of the Peace and of the Crown conducted the prosecutions, and gave the copies to boot. At present they are relieved from the conduct of the prosecutions, and are paid for their copies. This is at once more play and more pay.

Under the old system, the cost of these prosecutions did not much exceed thirty thousand pounds, and now it is nearly seventy.

The most obvious remedy is to go back to the old method. Discharge your Sessional Solicitors, and compel the Clerks of the Peace and of the Crown to conduct the prosecutions as before, and then you will have an expense of thirty thousand a year as formerly, since it does not appear from the official returns that there has been any increase of crime in Ireland.

But this expenditure might again be brought down a full third by reducing the salaries of the officers employed. And here reference must once more be made to the high rate of emoluments given in Ireland, which cannot but strike all those with astonishment who pay any attention to matters of finance. The salaries paid to some public servants are even higher than those allotted to similar situations in England. Thus, for example, the salary of the chief Secretary of State in Ireland, as has been seen above, is £5,500; and that of Mr. Matthews, the Under-Secretary, is altogether £1,939; and both these officers have two residences, one in the Castle and one in Phoenix Park, as well as coals and candles,* whereas the Cabinet-Ministers in England have but £5,000 a-year each, and only one official residence. The Under-Secretaries, even of the Treasury, receive but £2,500 each, and those of the Home, Foreign, and Colonial Offices but £2,000 and £1,500, without any residence whatever. Another striking instance has been adduced (page 110), in the salaries of the officers composing the Poor-law Board; and referring more immediately to that part of the subject just now under consideration, it will be found that Mr. Kemmis, Crown-solicitor for Dublin and Leinster, has £3,500 a-year salary, and £1,900 office expenses, altogether £5,400, and liberty to practise,† whereas the Solicitor for the Treasury and all the public offices in London, receives at present £2,850 salary, and can have but £3,921 maximum of office expenses;

* *Vide* Mr. Matthew's evidence, *Answers to Questions 5296 and 5297*.

† *Ibid* Answer to Questions 4083 and 4086.

total, £6,771. For the future he will have but £2,500 as a *maximum* salary, and £3,515 office expenses; total, £6,015,* and he is not at liberty to practise.

The natural inference would have been the direct contrary, but the Government follows the same vicious system with respect to Ireland, that it does with respect to the Colonies. Instead of choosing from the people of the country, or letting them choose for themselves, they confer employments on persons who are English by birth, descent, or association; and they might be supposed here to use their accustomed phrase—"How can we get men of standing to accept a situation in such a country as Ireland, if we do not pay them a little extra for exiling themselves?"

And if Government were to contend that the accusation is ill-founded, and that they appoint the most thorough-bred Irishmen, whenever they can find one capable of fulfilling the duties of his post, it would then be easy to object—Why do you volunteer to give such exorbitant salaries, when it is notorious that living is much cheaper, and the general scale of salaries much lower in Ireland than in England?—so that there is, either way, a dilemma out of which Ministers cannot creep.

On turning to the statement given in the appendix, page 184, we find for salaries of Crown Solicitors for seven

circuits - - -	£11,500	or £1,650 each.
Office expenses of the same -	5,800	„ 830 „
Clerks of the Peace of the Crown -	6,603	„ 950 „
Sessional Solicitors, six circuits	3,776	„ 620 „
	27,679	4,050 per circuit.
Counsel - - -	19,464	2,780
	£47,143	£6,830

Thus the enormous sum of £6,830 per circuit, or £47,143 in all, is yearly expended merely in salaries, office expenses and fees.

Evidently the first step towards putting an end to this prodigality would be to reduce the salaries of the Circuit Solicitors, &c.—to do away with the Sessional Solicitors, and compel the Clerks of the Peace and of the Crown to conduct the prosecutions, or compound for it by giving up their salaries. Of course they should be obliged, in any event, to give the copies of the proceedings gratis, as they did formerly.

As a permanent system, the better way would probably be to adopt the latter plan, and reduce the Clerks of the Peace and of the Crown entirely to their fees from private suitors, as their patents fell in, and exonerate them from the charge of conducting the prosecutions, but not from that of furnishing copies.

The machinery of the Circuit and Sessional Solicitors might then be kept up, only it would be proper to appoint barristers, or men capable of pleading, as has been already suggested, for England. Doubtless if Government were to seek among the resident Irish lawyers, they would have no difficulty in finding very respectable and able men as Crown Solicitors, or public prosecutors, most ready and willing to accept such a

* *Vide* Appendix to Report of Committee on Miscellaneous Services, page 171.

salary as would be moderate compared to the existing scale, and yet high for Ireland ; as for example, £600 a-year and four or five hundred for office expenses. They would as surely find efficient men as candidates for the post of Sessional Solicitor at £400 a-year, and thus the whole expense would be about £1,500 per circuit ; or if it were found that the time taken up by pleading rendered the appointment of an additional officer necessary, such appointment would be covered by another £400 a-year, making in all £1,900 to £2,000 a-year per circuit, or £14,000 for the whole island.

The sum stated for rewards, maintenance and expenses of witnesses, for the year ending 31st March, 1847, is £10,616, which, added to the last mentioned sum, gives £24,600 as the whole sum required for cost of prosecutions in Ireland ; but as it is fair to suppose that the witnesses have been as much overpaid as the officials, the presumption is not unfair, that the amount would still bear some important reductions.

Again, by adopting the plan of bringing all the causes to the quarter sessions, a still further saving might be effected, and it is highly probable that the whole expense might be brought down to £20,000.

SCOTLAND.

The expense for law charges in Scotland consists of two sums,—one being for the Sheriffs' expenses, which have been of late years about £48,000 ; the other, for allowances to the Lord Advocate, clerks, &c. Of this former item no detailed account has been given ; the latter is but trifling. It is, however, highly probable, that in both of these figures a considerable reduction might be made ; and among other sums which might disappear altogether from the account is the allowance of £3,500 in lieu of fees to the Lord-Advocate, Solicitor-General, and four Advocate-Deputies, as most of these officers receive enough of the public money in the shape of salary.

QUEEN'S REMEMBRANCER.

In the class of expenditure now under discussion, there remains only to be noticed a small item of £16,000 in 1849, and £17,700 in 1850, for expenses of Sheriffs and salaries of Officers of the Exchequer, which it would not be worth while noticing, did it not cover the gravest abuses in principle. In that amount are included £3,811 2s. for excess of expenditure in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office over and above the fees received. On the subject of this functionary, it will be as well to hear what Mr. Hankins, law-clerk of the Treasury, says :—

The witness tells us that the Queen's Remembrancer prosecutes cases in the Exchequer for recovering stamp duties and taxes, and for infractions of the stamp acts ; that he is neither a counsel nor solicitor, but was originally in the Treasury ; that he is no lawyer ; that he does not even get up the cases, but that this duty is performed by the solicitors of the revenue boards ; that he issues Crown process for the recovery of fines levied at the assizes. (*See Mr. Hankin's evidence, page 455, passim*).

"Do you think that the duties of this office could be performed in

a more economical way?"—"The only way in which it could be done would be by turning it over to the Master on the Common Law side of the Exchequer." (*Question* 5960).

"Who appoints the Master, on the Common Law side of the Exchequer?"—"The Lord Chief Baron : there are five of them." (5961).

"Could they perform these duties?"—"They could do these duties." (5962).

"Do you know what salaries they have?"—"£1,200 a year." (5963).

"Their duties are analogous to those of the Queen's Remembrancer?"—"Exactly the same, only they do it for the parties ; he does it for the Crown." (5964).

"Have they an establishment equal to his?"—"Much larger." (5965).

"Do you know sufficient of their establishment to say whether they would be competent to undertake this duty?"—"It is just the same sort of duty." (5966).

"Is it usually the case, that where two offices doing the same sort of duties are combined, the work can be performed by a diminished staff?"—"I should say, that with two or three more clerks in the Master's office they would do all this work ; the reason of keeping the offices distinct, I always understood, was to keep the process of the Crown entirely distinct from the process of the country at large." (5967).

"Is there any advantage in that?"—"I do not know that there is any advantage." (5968).

It is useless to continue our quotations ; suffice it to say, that in a series of answers to Questions 5969 to 5981, Mr. Hankins replies to every objection that could be raised against the suppression of the Remembrancer's Office.

It is plain, therefore, that nearly the whole of the £3,816 2s., say at least £2,500, might be taken off the £17,700.

HEREDITARY USHER OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Another serious abuse in the composition and expenditure of the Court of Exchequer, is to be found in the existence of officers whose only functions appear to be those of drawing money from the public purse.

There is an officer called the Hereditary Usher of the Exchequer, whose office, we learn from Mr. Hankins and Mr. Adderley, is as ancient as the Exchequer itself, and may even be held by a female. This officer is, in the first place, paid by fees, amounting on an average to £300 a year, for which it is needless to say that no duty is performed, whether the holder of the situation be a gentleman or a lady. But this is not all : the usher has the appointment of the four patent messengers of the court, and receives from £300 to £500 for each appointment.

The reader no doubt imagines that these messengers are at all events efficient officers of the court, but Mr. Hankin's evidence will undeceive him upon this point also.

"If those messengers' places are the subject of sale, they are probably not very laborious?"—"No, there is little or nothing to do." (*Vide Question* 5994).

"What are their duties?"—"Their duties are to receive the process from the Queen's Remembrancer's office, and to take it to the various sheriffs

for the recovery of fines and forfeitures during the year, and I believe they receive the process *and send it down by somebody*, to whom they pay a guinea or two for going." (*Question 5995*).

"Are they paid for the journeys?"—"£40 for each delivery twice a year; that is £80, including all expenses of travelling,—it is an ancient allowance." (*Question 5997*).

So that the public is obliged to pay four times £80 a year for a work that is done by a third party for four times one or two guineas and travelling expenses, in order that a gentleman or lady Hereditary Usher may have appointments to sell.

Mr. Hankins tells us (*Answer to Question 6001*)—"It was like the Duke of Grafton's seal of the writs in the Common Pleas and Exchequer which was abolished two years ago, that was granted to a lady by Charles the Second, and has descended to him." "I have made two or three attempts," he adds elsewhere, "to draw a bill to abolish the office." —(*Answer to Question 5989*).

Why then, might we ask, were these attempts not allowed to be brought to maturity? and why are not the messengers' offices also abolished after the demise of the present holders at least? for, if we may believe Mr. Hankins, whose words we quote again, "the Queen's Remembrancer might just as well send all his processes down by post, in the same way that the Clerk of the Crown sends down the writs for the election of members." (*Answer to Question 6004*).

By the abolition of these sinecure offices the suitors would economise several hundreds of pounds paid to the usher in the shape of fees, and the public would save as much in salaries of messengers.

Taking all these circumstances into account, it is probable that the whole of that chapter of the Miscellaneous Services under the head of Law and Justice, might be kept within the following limit:—

Expenses of prosecutions in England	-	-	£220,000
Ditto ditto Scotland	-	-	60,000
Ditto ditto Ireland	-	-	22,000
Ditto offences against laws relating to Coin	-	-	9,000
Ditto Sheriffs, &c.	-	-	15,000
Insolvent Debtors' Court	-	-	10,300
Total			<u>£336,300</u>

PRISONS AND CONVICTS.

Up to the year 1849, the estimates under each head were kept separate, and separate votes were taken for each. The vote is now taken in a lump for prisons and convict establishments, and on looking at the analysis of this expenditure set forth (pages 20 and 21), it will be seen that the vote for prisons was something more than £90,000 in 1848, and something less last year; including in both cases the salaries of the inspectors of prisons, and the total expense of the Milbank penitentiary, of which a large portion refers to the convicts.

Some reforms have been pointed out by Sir G. Grey and Lieutenant-Colonel Jebb, as being practicable; and there seems no reason why the American system alluded to by this latter witness, by means of which

the labor of the prisoners is made to pay the whole expense of the establishment, should not be adopted in this country, to a certain extent at least.

The expense of convicts, which is included in this chapter, claims the utmost vigilance, since it is a constantly increasing item.

The vote for convicts at home, in Ireland, Gibraltar and Bermuda, was £130,780 in 1847; that for the construction of dépôts in Ireland for convicts and criminal lunatics was £16,293; and the expenses paid out of the Consolidated Fund and Excise revenue £20,434—total £167,507. The vote in 1848 was £161,000, and the expenses paid from the Consolidated Fund and Excise revenue £32,274—total £193,274; while in the estimates for the years 1849-50, it has been shown that £184,046 are put down for expenses of convicts at home only, independently of the large items of £28,341 7s. 6d., for cost of maintenance and conveyance, not included in the latter sum, making a total of £212,387 7s. 6d.

In New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the vote was £200,000 in 1847, and £217,000 in 1848. In the estimates 1849-50, Gibraltar and Bermuda are combined with these two colonies, and the total cost is set down at £229,905.

In the votes for the navy, the expense of transportation was set down as £21,674 in 1847, and £43,602 in 1848; but taking the *actual* expense as set down in the columns of comparison between the two years, which appear in the estimate for the present year, it was £35,622 and £53,950 respectively, whereas for 1849-50 a sum of £72,113 is provided.

Thus comparing the three years we shall find the following result:—

Expense of convicts in the	1847.	1848.	1849.		
United Kingdom ...	£167,507	£193,274	£212,387	7	6
Ditto out of the kingdom ...	200,000	217,000	229,905	0	0
Cost of transportation ...	35,622	53,950	72,113	0	0
Total ...	£408,129	£464,224	£514,405	7	6

Crime may have increased within the last three years, but not in the frightful ratio which these figures seem to indicate. The increase of expenditure must then, in some measure at least, be attributed to injudicious arrangements and want of economy.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jebb, whose evidence on this question is highly interesting, and acquires additional weight from his official connexion with the penal establishments of the country, has made the following estimate with respect to the convicts:—

He assumes that there are 8,000 prisoners in the hands of Government at one time in the country. Of these he estimates 2,000 in separate confinement, at an annual cost of £25 a head	...	...	...	...	£50,000
And 6,000 employed in public works, at £18	...	...	...	...	108,000
Total	...	...	...	...	£158,000

He supposes that the 2,000 prisoners in separate confinement might earn	...	...	...	...	£15,000
And that 5,500 out of 6,000 prisoners employed in public works for 300 days in the year, might earn 2s. a day each, or in all per annum	...	...	...	...	165,000
Total	...	...	...	...	<u>£180,000</u>

And from this he infers that, under proper management, the convicts would pay more than their expenses.

Of course it must not be supposed, that between the Government system and Colonel Jebbs', there is the difference of some hundreds of thousands of expense, and two-and-twenty thousand pounds profit. The convicts are to a certain degree employed, and do, in fact, earn some wages as a set-off. As they are employed, however, by Government itself, or by the Government contractors, no notice is taken of their labour on one side or the other.

Now it may be admitted, without any sort of difficulty, that if the value of this labor were deducted from the expense of the convicts, it must be added to the expense of the public works in which they were employed, and that the general result in the financial balance sheet of the State would be unaltered. Nevertheless, if the case were stated in that manner, the public would derive therefrom the advantage of knowing what was the *real* value of the works proposed by Government. Labor is money, and by disposing of it at their will, ministers do virtually dispose *pro tanto* of the public purse, without the sanction of Parliament. A work whose chief expense arises from mere manual labor, like a breakwater, for instance, may require an outlay of £150,000, and yet may be set down in the estimates at only £50,000, because Government have the means of obtaining £100,000 in the shape of convict labour, and in this way the control of Parliament is not as complete as it should be. But besides this consideration, which resolves itself into a mere matter of account, it is questionable whether all possible pains are taken to employ the convicts. The extract given (pages 85 and 86), from the evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry into the Ordnance Estimates, seems to favor this supposition.

Most certainly we have not the presumption to suppose that we have found a solution of the much-vexed question of convict establishments and convict expenditure; or that we have discovered a panacea for an evil which has grown to an alarming magnitude, and which has occupied and perplexed the most distinguished statesmen, though few can agree upon any point except the necessity of putting a stop, if possible, to its further development.

Still, we would venture to submit, that if an efficient discipline were kept up among the convicts transported to New South Wales, their labor in a country where wages are so high, might amply repay the State for the cost of maintaining them. It might be suggested, at the same time, that the most hardened should be conveyed to the West Indian Islands, where cultivation, we are told, is at a stand for want of hands. It

can scarcely be doubted that gangs of convicts hired to the planters would earn more than their cost, and the further advantage would be obtained of rendering transportation a punishment sufficiently severe to make an impression on the fears of the profligate, who now look upon it too often without any sort of terror, or even as an inducement to the commission of crime.

Were such a system to be carried out with a firm and unflinching hand, it would not be over-sanguine to hope that the *net* expenditure of convicts would not exceed £200,000 annually. The total item would then stand thus:—

Maintenance of prisoners in county gaols	-	£95,000
Prisons—Inspectors of prisons and criminal lunatics	-	107,000
Expense of transportation £70,000, general convict expense £200,000	-	270,000
		£472,000

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

The sum expended on Education, Science, and Art, is the only one which a well-wisher to his country would not desire to see curtailed, and which should indeed be the first increased whenever the state of the revenue will admit of it. A doubt might be allowed as to the judiciousness of its application, and more particularly as to the expediency of making grants to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, which amount to upwards of £6,000 a-year, and have been condemned by the Committee of Inquiry.

It must be remembered, however, that the parliamentary vote is not the only sum expended on education,—an amount of more than fifty thousand pounds being charged upon the Consolidated Fund for building and expenses of Maynooth, and for endowment and building of other colleges.

CONSULAR ESTABLISHMENTS.

In the next item of expenditure, for Consular Establishments, it is submitted that a considerable retrenchment might be made. By far the greater number of our Consuls abroad are allowed to trade; and wherever the town in which a Consul resides is of sufficient importance to render that privilege valuable, there seems no reason for withholding it, provided he be not at the same time the diplomatic envoy of the country; and when the privilege is conceded, a very moderate salary, say at most £500 a-year, would be an ample remuneration.

Some places in which we have Consuls are of such very trifling importance in a commercial point of view, that they might be altogether suppressed, and such casual business as might occur, left to an agent at a nominal salary. In others the consular staff is too numerous.

The reductions here proposed are then threefold. Firstly,—by lowering the salaries of some Consuls allowed to trade, whose emoluments appear greater than they need be, when that privilege is taken into con-

sideration ; secondly,—by allowing some Consuls to trade who are not permitted to do so at present, and lowering their salaries in consequence ; lastly,—by suppressing the Consular establishment altogether in some places, and the Vice-Consuls in some others, which have both Consuls and Vice-Consuls.

First category of Consuls allowed to trade, whose salaries might be reduced—

				Present salary.		Proposed.		Reduction.
St. Petersburg	...	...	...	£750	...	£500	...	£250
Odessa	...	...	...	750	...	400	...	350
Lisbon	...	...	...	600	...	400	...	200
Oporto	...	...	...	500	...	400	...	100
Erzeroum	...	...	...	600	...	400	...	200
Rio de Janeiro	...	...	...	800	...	500	...	300
Bahia	...	...	...	800	...	500	...	300
Sandwich Islands	...	...	...	800	...	500	...	300
				<u>£5,600</u>		<u>£3,600</u>		<u>£2,000</u>

Second category of Consuls who are not allowed to trade, and who might have that permission without prejudice to the public service.

				Present salary.		Proposed salary.		Reduction.
Havre	...	...	...	£650	...	£400	...	£250
Venice	...	...	...	1,000	...	400	...	600
Patras	...	...	...	700	...	400	...	300
Constantinople	...	...	...	1,500	...	600	...	900
Smyrna	...	...	...	800	...	400	...	400
Syria	...	...	...	1,000	...	500	...	500
Alexandria	...	...	...	600	...	400	...	200
Algiers (Consul and Vice-Consul)	...	...	...	2,000	...	500	...	1,500
Panama	...	...	...	1,000	...	500	...	500
Valparaiso	...	...	...	700	...	400	...	300
Rio Grande	...	...	...	800	...	400	...	400
Buenos Ayres	...	...	...	800	...	400	...	400
				<u>£11,550</u>		<u>£5,300</u>		<u>£6,250</u>

Third category of Consulates that might be done away with :—

Kertch	...	...	...	salary	£200
Granville	...	...	...	...	300
Sanlucar	...	...	...	...	200
Tulela	...	...	...	...	200
Vice-Consul Tripoli	...	...	...	...	300
Ditto Tunis	...	...	...	...	450
Ditto Tangiers	...	...	...	...	350
Ditto Monte Video	...	...	...	...	500
					<u>£2,500</u>

To the second of these categories, or perhaps even to the third, might be added the Consulates in Belgrade and Bucharest, and the Consulate or Embassy in the Mosquito country. So much has been said of late years about the heretofore unknown kingdom of Mosquito, that the connexion between that monarchy and our own has acquired a certain savour of the ludicrous. It ceases, however, to be good fun when it costs fourteen or fifteen hundred a year, in diplomatic expenses alone, to keep up our relations with this mighty potentate of the far west; and when it complicates our relations with the United States in the bargain, a doubt may be permitted whether this country has any business to entertain any *political* relations at all with his Majesty of Mosquito; and as for our *commercial* relations, they might be attended to by any English merchant, if such there be, in his dominions.

The same may be said, only with still greater force, of the Consulates at Belgrade and Bucharest, neither of which are capitals of independent countries; and with neither of which can we legitimately, or necessarily at least, have any political relations—unless it be a necessity, as some people seem to think, to interfere with every movement that goes on in Europe. If the occasions for political business in those cities are null, those for commercial affairs will be nearly as few, seeing that both those places are situated in the interior. At all events, the consular duties might be performed by a mercantile man at a small salary.

As for the reductions proposed in the above categories, they justify themselves upon bare inspection. No reason can be given why Consuls should be kept up at such insignificant places as Kertch, Granville, Sanlucar, or Tulela; why there should be any Vice-Consuls at Tripoli, Tunis, Tangiers, and Monte Video; or why a Consul for the Sandwich Islands, if any be kept there, may not be got for as low a salary as a Consul at Navigation Islands.

It would be equally difficult to assign a reason why a Consul at Buenos Ayres or Constantinople should not be as unrestricted, with respect to trading, as he is at St. Petersburg; and still more so to say why he should not be unrestricted in the other places mentioned, scarcely any of which are capitals.

The reduction above shown would not however be the only saving resulting from the proposed alteration, as there would necessarily be an economy also in the allowances, and sundry expenses connected with the consulates included in the vote under that head.

It only remains to notice the consular establishments in China, of which there are six, which appear in the estimates for the enormous sum of £26,000, or upwards of £4,000 a year each. Presumptuous as it may appear to offer any opinion upon establishments so essentially exceptional, yet it is impossible not to feel that the interests of the trading community connected with China might be cared for at a cheaper rate. Were it otherwise, we might be tempted to quote the French proverb—“*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*”

The establishment at Hong Kong would seem to be altogether superfluous. This is not a foreign port, but an English colony, the more completely disconnected from a foreign country by its being an island. The office is, in fact, but an adjunct of the governor's, who is indeed the

real Consul, and if we admit that the direction of the commercial and shipping affairs of the colony requires four or five clerks, and that the expense, considering the scale of salaries in so distant a country, might amount to £2,000 a year, we are surely making a very large admission, and yet this would be £2,621 less than the establishment costs.

It is impossible also to believe that the requirements of trade at Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai, but more particularly at the two last mentioned places, cannot be met otherwise than by maintaining a Consul at from £1,200 to £1,800 a year, and a Vice-Consul at £750 a year, in each place; and it does not appear unreasonable to expect that that officer might be dispensed with at Amoy and Shanghai at least, and that in case of illness, death, or other obstacle, preventing the Consul from acting, his place might be temporarily filled by the first-assistant.

Between these two suggestions we should find a saving of £4,000 a year; and, doubtless, if all the items of expenditure for these Chinese Consulates were thoroughly sifted, there would be room for much greater economy.

Upon the whole chapter then, and without touching upon the £20,000 for missions, it has been shown that some £16,000 a year might be saved, reducing it from £168,690 to £153,000.

COLONIAL EXPENDITURE.

We come now to the Colonial Expenditure in the Miscellaneous Estimates, of which it may be useful to repeat the particulars as follows :

	1848-9	1849-50.
Bahamas	£3,410	£290
Bermuda	4,049	4,049
Prince Edward's Island	3,070	2,000
Table Island, Nova Scotia	400	...
Western Coast of Africa	13,680	13,680
Western Australia	7,538	7,879
St. Helena	11,500	16,940
Port Essington	2,725	1,763
Falkland Islands	5,040	5,700
New Zealand	20,000	20,000
Labuan	9,827	9,827
Heligoland	1,023	1,023
Governor's and others, West Indies	18,028	18,028
Clergy, North America	11,578	11,578
Indian department, Canada	14,308	14,102
Militia, ditto	16,000	16,000
Hong Kong and ports in China	49,400	25,000
Justices in the West Indies, Mauritius, &c.	41,150	41,150
Emigration	13,451	13,654
Total	<u>246,177</u>	<u>222,163</u>

It would, perhaps, be no difficult matter to get almost entirely rid of this branch of the national expenditure, by disposing (with their consent, of

course) of the greater part of the Colonies which give rise to it ; but if the time be not yet come for that very obvious remedy to so many evils, of which the expenditure of £220,000 now under consideration, is the least, it has at all events arrived for doing away with some places included in the above list, which deserve not the name of Colonies, and scarcely that of settlements.

What use, for example, can there be in keeping up the Bahamas and Bermuda at the same time ? They are not looked upon as Colonies, but as mere military stations ; and it is surely unnecessary to have two stations of that description in the same part of the world, even under existing circumstances, and still less so if a proper reduction of our naval force were carried into effect, and our foreign policy conducted upon sounder principles.

It must be allowed that the expenditure attendant upon the former establishment, has been almost entirely done away with in the last year ; but as long as it is reckoned among the Colonies, there is no guarantee for the future.

The settlement at Prince Edward's Island, furnishes another instance of the unreasonableness of governments, in constantly aspiring after an increase of territory, without reference to the advantages to be derived. Prince Edward's Island, as every body knows, is situated in the immediate vicinity of Nova Scotia, and its separate organization is comparatively of recent date. Yet, surely it might have been thought we had enough of American Colonies to render us desirous of restraining their number instead of increasing it. If the individual interests engaged in the island are too numerous to admit of its being abandoned, it ought, at least, to be a mere adjunct to Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, and have no government of its own but its local magistrates.

Similar, but still more cogent reasons, might be adduced in favour of abandoning the Falkland Islands and Labuan, the last and crowning folly of our present ministry.

The first of these settlements threatened, at one time, to become a subject of war with Spain ; but no government had been found mad enough to think of founding a colony there,—that glory was reserved for Lord John Russell's administration.

The latter island is only ten miles in length, and £9,827 per annum have already been voted for it during two years. We are told that it contains a vast deal of coal, and that the steam-vessels of the royal navy may obtain that article at a very low rate. Ah ! doubtless the Admiralty will send a few additional steamers, encourage the consumption of coals in them, and then come triumphantly, saying, "*We have taken so many tons of coals for which we should have paid 35s., whereas we have only paid at the rate of 11s. ; we have therefore gained for the nation 24s. per ton on the whole quantity ;* and, of course, the greater the quantity the greater the saving.

Truly this appears a very economical expedient, but we cannot refrain from thinking that it would be still more economical, instead of saving 24s. a ton, to save the whole 35s., by consuming none at all. *Il n'y a que le bon marché qui coûte*, say our Gallic neighbours, and we are very much afraid the adage will be borne out in this case. These cheap

coals of Labuan will yet be our bane, and will prove an irresistible temptation to the officers of our steam navy,—for what are a few hundred thousand tons, more or less, at the paltry figure of 11s. a ton? If we cannot get rid of Labuan altogether, let us hope that this abundance of coal may turn out to be all moonshine, in order that we may, at least, be quit for a useless outlay of nine or ten thousand a year, without an increase, at the same time, in the expenditure upon coals for our steamers.

Among those dependencies which have not a semblance of utility, may be classed Heligoland, and all the settlements on the western coast of Africa south of the Gambia; so that, by throwing up these palpably useless settlements and colonies, we might make a saving in respect of

The Bahamas	...	...	...	£290
Western Coast of Africa	...	...	...	8,900
Prince Edward's Island	...	...	...	2,000
Falkland Islands	...	...	...	5,700
Labuan	...	...	...	9,827
Heligoland	...	...	...	1,023
Total				<u>£27,740</u>

In the list of colonial expenditure the settlement of Hong Kong occupies a conspicuous place. A reduction has been made in the estimates 1849-50, under that head, but it is more apparent than real, since it arises from the transfer of the consular establishments in China to the general estimate for consular expenditure. It is certain that Hong Kong ought to pay its own expenses. Entirely commercial as it is, and kept up for the benefit of those who trade there, and of the persons indirectly interested in their trade, it is quite just that the cost should come out of that trade. The sacrifice to the country arising from the naval establishment kept up, is sufficiently great, and it would be the height of folly to maintain a civil establishment beyond the limit of what the local revenues will pay for. Nay, when we consider the enormous margin for saving in a third or fourth-rate colony, with a Governor at £6,000 a-year, a Secretary at £3,300, and other officers in proportion, the expectation even of a surplus cannot be considered as altogether unreasonable. Meanwhile, by resolutely adhering to the principle, exceedingly practicable in itself of keeping no more public servants than the revenues would pay for, the whole expenditure, or £25,000, might be saved.

As for St. Helena, Government is only pledged to the payment of some salaries till the death of the existing nominees, and ought never to go beyond this. With respect to the other items, it is very fair to contend that each colony should pay for what concerns it, or else that the cause of the outlay should be removed. Thus it is submitted that the North American Colonies should pay for the Clergy, and the Indian Department;* and the West Indies for their governors and justices, as well

* The Committee on the Miscellaneous Estimates has noticed these two items as charges in progress of diminution by the death of the present recipients. This is true

as their clergy, for which provision is made out of the Consolidated Fund, but with the same liberty of choosing them themselves, and paying them what salaries they pleased. And here we must enter up our protest against Lord Grey's declaration that the governors of the Colonies are *underpaid*. Why, as Sir William Molesworth stated to the House of Commons last session, the governors of our North American Colonies receive more than those of the thirty United States put together, and the same may be said of the governors of the West Indies.

The salary of these *underpaid* governors, Sir W. Molesworth tells us, is £7,000 in Canada, in Ceylon, and in the unimportant Colony of Mauritius; £6,500 in Jamaica; £5,000 in Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales; £3,500 in Nova Scotia, and £3,000 in New Brunswick and Newfoundland; whereas the Governor of New York has £800 a-year, the Governor of Massachusetts £500; and the whole thirty of the United States together, £14,000.

If such an assertion as Lord Grey's had been made by a person less serious, and on an occasion less serious, the consequence would have been *solvantur tabule risu*. It is to be feared that his lordship's pathetic observations will not excite sympathy in the country for these poor underpaid governors, who are enjoying salaries of from £3,000 to £7,000 a-year, in Colonies where the general scale of incomes is much less than in this country, and where such salaries represent at least as much as £6,000 to £14,000 would in England.

It is very true that Earl Grey adds, that to have efficient persons go out to the Colonies, you must give them as much as eminent persons may gain in this country, and enough to make some saving for the time when they return home; and he then proceeds to state that the salaries being so much higher than incomes in the Colonies, they cannot be paid out of the local revenues without creating much dissatisfaction. (*Vide Answer to Question 6889*).

Now in these premises there are two very questionable propositions; and it may be doubted, firstly, whether it is necessary that such exorbitant salaries should be given in order to secure the service of men of first-rate capacity; and secondly, whether it is necessary that the efficient men should *go out* to the Colonies and *return home*.

If it be absolutely essential that a governor of a colony should have a title appended to his name,—that he should be a man of influential connexions, and perhaps of great personal fortune,—it may easily be conceived that he will consider the Colonies as places of exile, and will require a handsome bonus to indemnify him for taking charge of the irksome task of governing any one of them.

The majority of the tax-payers of the kingdom, however, will probably deny most completely the necessity for any such appendage to the name of a colonial governor. Earl Grey has only to look among the indivi-

with respect to the Indian Department, but by no means so with respect to the Clergy, for which more was voted in the year 1848-9, than in the three years preceding 1847. If they are really diminishing charges, as the Committee states, they will die a natural death; if not, they should be borne by the Colonies; and in neither point of view ought they permanently to form a part of the Imperial expenditure.

duals in his own and other public departments, and he will find that the most able men about him do not belong to this class, and are not the most liberally paid. He will find there, and without going further, many plain Misters who would have governed a colony—Ceylon for example—quite as well as my Lord Torrington himself, and for a quarter the money.

But what may be denied still more forcibly is the axiom that the governors should *go out* from this country. Why should they not rather be chosen from among the colonists themselves; or rather, perhaps, chosen *by* them? A governor selected in this way might surely be presumed to have as much knowledge of the colony as a nobleman sent out from England, whose chief recommendation might be as german to the purpose as the one not long ago alleged by the supporters of a colonial governor in his favour, namely—that he was a good agriculturist, had been proposed as director to a railway company, and had received, or might have received a piece of plate as a testimonial of good conduct in that capacity.

It will not even be too much to go a step farther, and maintain that a very great advantage would result from this proceeding, inasmuch as it would initiate colonies thoroughly into the mysteries of self-government, of which they have but an imperfect notion under the existing system; and if it be objected that they would then be too much disconnected from this country, it would be very easy to find a remedy for that evil. They might, as said above, be chosen by the Crown from the colonists; or, better still, the colonists might present a certain number of candidates for selection and nomination by the Crown; or they might name the governor themselves, but their nomination not to be valid till confirmed by the Queen; or they might have the power of naming and the Crown of dismissing, or *vice versâ*. And let us not while doing what is confessedly more likely to conciliate the Colonies, have independence and the apparition of the United States continually before our eyes; let us not make a bugbear of it to scare us out of our propriety. Why the greatest glory England can boast of is that of having given birth to such a people. Could she create a second of the same sort, it would be another wreath in her crown of laurels.

This system, too, would have the further advantage of enabling the Colonies to reduce the salaries of the other public servants. At present it is difficult to place them on a level commensurate with the general scale of colonial incomes, precisely because the salary of the chief of the executive department is so enormous. It would not do to give a governor seven thousand a year and a chief-justice, for example, five hundred; the difference would be too grossly disproportionate to that between their respective standing in the social scale, and yet five hundred a year might be a very sufficient salary when compared with the average incomes of the particular colony.

It will of course be admitted that the proposed reductions could not be carried into effect immediately, without injustice to the actual nominees, and in many cases without a positive breach of faith. This, however, and other obstacles, are but of a transitory nature; and as they successively disappeared, the colonial budget would be reduced till it

arrived at its normal state, which need not, certainly, involve an expenditure beyond—

Bermuda	£4,000
Gambia	4,700
Western Australia, Port Essington	8,700
New Zealand	20,000
Emigration Board	13,000
Total	<u>£50,400</u>

And even this would be, most likely, susceptible of farther reduction, as the Colonies of Western Australia and New Zealand would be able, in a few years, to pay their own civil expenses, or would not be worth retaining at all.

SLAVE TRADE.

The two items for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and for support of captured negroes, might, it is believed, be done away with altogether; and in this opinion all those will concur who entertain the ideas advocated in these pages, with respect to the complete inefficacy of the repressive means employed to put down this horrible traffic.

It is true that the existing treaties may be quoted as being an obstacle to any radical alteration in the present state of things as regards the Slave Trade; but, as the foreign powers have been dragged into these treaties by ourselves, there can be very little apprehension of their making any serious objection to a modification of them, if it were demanded.

SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES.

The last item upon which any remark is called for, is that of superannuation allowances. Whatever has been allotted under that head is sacred, and cannot be tampered with but at the expense of good faith; unless, indeed, it were by calling into active service any of the officers placed on the superannuation list from other causes than age or ill-health. For the future, however, it would be highly desirable that such a chapter should not exist at all in the budget, but that a deduction should be made upon all salaries whatever, sufficient to create a superannuation fund; and that all the public servants who had, not through misconduct, forfeited their title to a participation therein, should enjoy a certain allowance upon dismissal, graduated according to the number of years they had served.

The total Miscellaneous Expenditure would thus be :—

Public buildings and repairs	£450,000
Civil contingencies	100,000
Printing and stationery	160,000
Public departments	648,000
Law and justice	336,300
Carried forward	<u>£1,694,300</u>

Brought forward	...	...	...	£1,694,300
Prisons and convicts	...	...	...	472,000
Dublin police	...	...	...	35,500
Education	...	...	...	272,200
Art and science	...	...	...	75,000
Consular expenditure and missions	...	...	...	153,000
Foreign secret service money	..	...	...	39,000
Colonial expenditure	...	...	...	51,000
Superannuation allowances	...	...	...	110,000
Charities and miscellaneous	...	...	...	140,000
Total	...	...	...	<u>£3,042,000</u>

RECAPITULATION.

Supposing the above indicated reforms carried into effect, the expenditure of the United Kingdom would be as follows :

Annual charge on the Funded Debt	..	..	£27,700,000
Interest on Exchequer Bills, probably	..	..	600,000
			<u>£28,300,000</u>

Charge on the Consolidated Fund :—

Civil List	..	..	..	..	400,000
Pensions	..	..	..	..	400,000
Salaries and Allowances	..	..	£271,000		
Less reduction.					
Audit Office	..	..	£2,400		
National Debt Office	..	..	11,000		
Tithe Commissioners	..	..	5,000		
Inclosure Commissioners	..	..	4,000		
Lunacy Commissioners	..	..	3,000		
Public works Loan-office	..	..	3,000		
			<u>28,400</u>		242,600
Diplomatic Salaries	..	..	140,000		
Less reduction, page 119	..	..	26,400		
			<u>113,600</u>		
Courts of Justice and Police	..	..	1,098,000		
Less reduction, page 121	..	..	88,000		
			<u>1,010,000</u>		
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	210,800
Interest and Sinking-Fund on Russian and Greek Loans	..	..	..	..	140,000
					<u>2,517,000</u>
Navy	..	..	..	..	4,000,000
Contract for Post-Office	..	..	..	..	600,000
Army, Ordnance, and Commissariat	..	..	..	..	5,773,000
Carried forward	..	..	..	£10,373,000	<u>£30,817,000</u>

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Brought forward	..	..	..	..	£10,373,000	£30,817,000
Militia	..	..	..	..	110,000	
Miscellaneous Services	..	..	..	..	3,042,000	
						13,525,000
Total	..	..	..	..	..	£44,342,000

To many persons such a wholesale cutting down of the public expenditure will doubtless appear startling, and most probably visionary and impracticable; but when it is borne in mind that retrenchments have really been made during the last two years, and that others are announced for the present year, the most sceptical on the subject must perceive that these retrenchments have been wrung from Government by the expression of public opinion, and that whenever the pressure from without dictates measures of economy, ministers contrive, somehow or other, to cut their coat according to their cloth—if we may use so homely an expression—and to carry on the affairs of the country without our running one whit more risk of being overrun by French or Russian invasions.

From this, people may be able to appreciate at their real value the usual arguments, of the necessity of keeping up the national armaments, and maintaining the efficiency of the naval and military forces of the empire; for if any two years since the peace have been more pregnant than others with danger of war, it has been precisely the two last, of 1848 and 1849, in which the retrenchments and reductions have taken place; and however successful the moderate party may have been in putting down the hydra of revolutionary anarchy, still the prospects for the present year, though more cheering, are still anything but peaceful compared with those of many years in which the national defences were kept up on a much larger scale.

At the same time, it is not to be denied that immense reductions could not be *immediately* realized, not so much because there is anything impracticable in them, as because it would cause so much misery to throw out of employment the number of persons who would have to be discharged from the public service, that common humanity would forbid their being carried into effect otherwise than by degrees. But if it were cruel to disband one half of the army abruptly, it would not be so to discontinue all recruiting, and to allow all soldiers who were disposed to quit the ranks, the liberty to do so under certain restrictions and regulations,—perhaps on condition of the payment of a small portion of the sum now fixed for the purchase of a release from the engagement taken on enlisting.

The same gradual method ought to be adopted with respect to public servants in the civil departments of the State. In some cases a small pension might be granted as an inducement to retire from the service; in others, the places might be maintained till the death of the actual occupants. The essential requisite is, that the normal establishment be set down on the reduced scale; and the principle being once admitted, the practical effect should follow as fast as the respect due to private interests would admit of it; and savings would be gradually effected until we came down to the figure which ought to be looked upon as the natural and proper budget of the kingdom.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the reduction of salaries suggested in pages 123 and 124, is not taken into account in the foregoing summary; that the saving would in the course of years be considerably greater than what is represented above, since the enormous amount paid for ineffective services in the army and navy must gradually diminish from the decease of the persons who have the benefit of it; and the decrease from this cause would be out of all proportion greater than the increase arising from fresh claims. The allocations for public buildings would also be reduced by more than half when the new works now in progress are completed; and lastly, the immense sum devoted to transmission of the mails might be brought down to a comparatively small amount on the expiration of the existing contracts, by the employment of the steamers belonging to the State, in the manner above described, page 58.

Let it not be forgotten either, that many branches of public expenditure and revenue have been left untouched, which are susceptible of amelioration. There is the expense of collection, which remains nearly a sealed book to the public, though few can doubt the possibility of reducing it, to a certain degree, if not to the same extent as those branches of the public service the investigation of which has formed the subject of the foregoing pages. There is also the administration of the crown lands, that is now, it is true, undergoing the process of reform, which if conducted with an unsparing hand, will produce an immense increase of the public revenue. It has not either fallen within the scope of the present inquiry to calculate the enormous gains that might be realized by the country at large, *directly*, through an appropriation more consonant to the simplicity and humility of primitive Christianity, of that part of the national property called the church lands, tithes and endowments; *indirectly*, by a complete reform of the monstrous abuses connected with the administration of justice, and by putting an end to the enormous cost of law-suits and parliamentary proceedings.

Lastly, in making the above estimate, no attempt has been made to substitute particular opinions on colonial possessions, to those entertained, or at least assented to, by the majority, and the proposed arrangements are perfectly consistent with the popular prejudices on that score. The advocates of those particular opinions must be content to trust that public opinion, already shaken with respect to the policy of a large colonial empire—will undergo a complete change: they will pray most devoutly for this consummation, under the firm conviction that Great Britain will never attain her acmé of power and wealth till she is relieved of most of the adjuncts which have been preying on her vitals while fancy was depicting them as gems set round her diadem,—from that brilliant delusion—India, to that other delusion which is anything but brilliant—Ireland.

The net revenue of the country may be estimated at about fifty-three millions; the expenditure, on the scale above proposed, would be about forty-four, and there would consequently remain a surplus of about nine millions.

If it were deemed advisable to follow the majority among those who are also advocates of a sweeping reduction of the national expenditure,

it would be natural to propose a reduction of taxes to the extent of that surplus ; but it is submitted that the first duty of a nation, as of an individual, is to begin by paying its debts. Were this duty neglected,—were every available excess of revenue over expenditure swept away by a decrease of taxation,—the extinction, or even diminution, of the national debt must become altogether hopeless ; and if at any time unforeseen circumstances should call for extraordinary efforts, or if the revenue should fall off and be inadequate to defray the ordinary expenditure, a country accustomed to prefer debt to taxation would be disposed to meet the emergency rather by fresh loans than by increased taxes. The former contingency may be a remote one ; the latter occurred little more than a year ago ; and it does not require any peculiar gift of prophesy to foretell that, by persisting in such a system, the time must come when public credit will be destroyed, and when our country, which has hitherto distinguished itself so nobly by strict adherence to its engagements, will become in its turn a repudiating state.

In order to avert this consequence, a model worthy of imitation might be found in the straightforward policy adopted with respect to the abolition of slavery—that is, the exclusion of all half measures ; and with a view to meet the evil as fairly as the evil of slavery was met, the most effectual means to be adopted would perhaps be a conversion of the entire national debt into annuities terminable after a certain number of years.

The following table will show the money value of the public debt, as set forth in the finance accounts for the year ending 5th January, 1849, calculating interest of money at $3\frac{1}{2}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$, and 3 per cent., which supposes Consols at $85\frac{3}{4}$, $92\frac{1}{4}$, and par respectively ; and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents, $92\frac{1}{8}$ and par,* which is of course the maximum rate that can be claimed, no matter what may be the market rate.

Description and amount of Stock.		Interest being $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	Interest being $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.	Interest being 3 per cent.
	£	£	£	£
3 per cent.	523,054,236	448,332,202	482,819,295	523,054,236
$3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.	247,904,507	230,197,042	247,904,507	247,904,507
5 per cent.	433,125	618,750	666,346	† 721,875
Debt to the Irish Bank }	2,630,769	2,630,769	2,630,769	2,630,769
	£774,022,637	£681,778,763	£734,020,917	£774,311,387

Now, an annuity of a pound for forty years is the equivalent of £21,355,072, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ; £22,208,403, at $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and of

* The price of $92\frac{1}{4}$ and par for $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cents, which is in the same ratio to the respective prices of $85\frac{3}{4}$ and $92\frac{1}{4}$ for Consols, as $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 is practically too high ; in the first place, because the $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cents will become 3 per cents after a certain lapse of years ; and in the second, because a stock paying a high rate of interest is never relatively as dear as that which pays a low rate. As the design is to show the practicability of the measure, in a general way, that difference may be neglected, which, if taken into account, would not injure our case, but make it stronger.

† These 5 per cents. are calculated above par, being particularly circumstanced.

£23,114,770, at 3 per cent. Consequently, the several debts of £681,778,763, £734,020,917, and £774,311,387, would be paid off by substituting for them annuities for forty years of £31,926,000, £33,051,000, and £33,499,000 respectively, neglecting the hundreds. Add to this the terminable annuities actually existing, and amounting to £3,743,000 and £100,000 for expences of management, and the total charge in the three cases would be £35,769,000, £36,894,000, and £37,342,000; being in the first case £8,069,000, in the second £9,194,000, and in the third £9,642,000 more than the charge at the beginning of last year.

It may, then, be seen that the payment of the national debt is brought within the limits of possibility; and the circumstance that the excess of charge at the present market price of the funds would swallow up rather more than the proposed saving, cannot be considered in the light of a serious objection.

In the first place, prices are not invariable: a worse moment than the present there can only be when the description of stock which pays the lowest rate of interest rises to par, for at this price the State has a right to redeem its debt, no matter what the market price may be. On the other hand, more favourable opportunities may occur before the measure can be carried into execution.

In the second place, the surplus would necessarily increase in the course of years, from the demise of parties entitled to pensions, half-pay, &c., and from the completion of public works now in hand, as above stated.

In the third place, the term might, if necessary, be extended a little beyond forty years, in order to make the real surplus correspond with the required excess of annual charge.

It is, however, quite certain that the whole operation could not be carried into effect immediately, from the simple reason that the establishments, though fixed at the normal scale, could not *practically* be brought down to it at once. As fast as that was done, the saving realized might and should be applied to a partial conversion of the debt, and so on till the whole was converted.

Of the practicability of such a conversion, as a financial operation, there is no more reason to doubt than of its justice. If the 3 per cents were much below par, the tendency would certainly be to raise them; but the advantage of a few *per cent.* would tempt the holder or the contractor; and although this advantage to them would be a sacrifice to the State, it would still have secured the benefit of buying up its debt under par. Suppose, for example, Consols were 90; it might be necessary for the success of the operation, to calculate the annuities at the rate of interest yielded by a 3 per cent. stock at that price, but to give enough of them to be the equivalent of a capital of 92 or 93. If, on the other hand, they were above par, would not the holders be disposed to accept an investment for forty years at 3 per cent., rather than run the risk of seeing their stocks reduced to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. or $2\frac{1}{2}$?—a theme which has lately occupied the public mind, even though Consols have not yet arrived at par.

In this latter case, the State would in fact be paying rather more than par, since it would calculate its annuities at 3 per cent., whereas the rate yielded by the funds would be less. Suppose Consols at 109: interest of

money would then be $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and the annuity calculated at 3 per cent. would really be worth considerably more than 100.

This question, however, does only regard the *application* of the savings, and cannot affect the propriety of *realizing* those savings. Whether applied to the payment of the debt or to the reduction of taxation, they ought to be made, and would conduce, in one shape or another, to the well being of the country ; and if a strong appeal has been made in the foregoing pages in favor of the extinction of the public debt, by devoting the entire surplus that might be realized through the proposed retrenchments, to its conversion in terminable annuities, it is because the dignity—the ultimate prosperity—the security, perhaps, of the nation, are interested in not putting off the day of reckoning for ever, and throwing upon the shoulders of posterity a burden which we declare ourselves unable to grapple with.

The generation now existing might perhaps get on as well by living from hand to mouth, and diminishing its annual charges ; but if that generation is really patriotic, it will be satisfied with the £3,700,000 which will be gained when the terminable annuities of all sorts, which now exist, fall in ; it will not concentrate its thoughts exclusively upon the present fleeting moment, and will not desire to leave to its successors a land groaning under an ever-increasing incubus, but a country free from its trammels, which may increase in glory, prosperity, and greatness to the end of time.

THE END.

